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NOTICE.

The Index of "Islamic Culture," Vol. XXII, 1948, will be despatched with the next issue appearing in August, 1949. The delay is regretted.

Ed., I. C.



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ān]

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THE ORIGIN OF AFGHANS

THE name Afghan seems to be very old. The first mention of the Afghans in written history is in the *Tārīkh-i-Abul-Fida* (composed in 255 A.H.=868 A.D.). Al-'Utbi in his *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* records that Subuktagin enrolled Afghans and Khaljis in his army.¹ On his return from the Qannauj expedition Sultān Maḥmūd attacked the Afghans, the highway robbers, killed many of their male members and returned to Ghor.² Baihaqi, in his chronicle, only a little later in date (7th century A.H.) mentions Afghan Shal (افغان شال) on p. 316. The author of *Rauḍat-al-Ṣafa* (composed in the 8th century of the Hijri era) writes that Subuktagin conquered the country of the Afghans.³ Al-Bīrūnī mentions the Afghans once, saying, "In the western frontier mountains of India there live various tribes of Afghans, and extend to the neighbourhood of the Sindh (Indus) Valleys."⁴ Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* says that Ulugh Khān employed 3000 brave Afghans in subduing the hill tribes of Mewat in Rajputana.⁵ He also says, "In the time of the Shansabi dynasty there was a people, called Bani Israel living in Ghor and that some of them were extensively engaged in trade with countries around."⁶ Ibn Baṭṭuṭa also refers to this nation as Afghans.⁷ In the *Malḥūẓat-i-Ṭīmūri*, the *Ẓafar Nāmah* and the *Maṭl'ā-al-Sa'dain* it is related that Timūr ravaged the country of the Aughan, who inhabited the Sulaiman mountains.⁸

The word Afghan is a Persian one. Its etymology is unknown. Prof. Dorn has described the word Avghan (Aughan) in the translation

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, composed in the 4th century A.H. and printed at Delhi, p. 29.

2. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, pp. 415-418.

3. Cf. The *Rauḍat-al-Ṣafa*, Vol. IV, p. 32 (Newal Kishore edition).

4. Cf. *Sachau-Al-Bīrūnī's India*, Vol. I, p. 208.

5. Cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 151.

6. Cf. Billew (H. W.)—*The Races of Afghanistan*, Chap. II, p. 15.

7. Cf. Gibb (H. A. R.)—*Ibn Baṭṭuṭa*, p. 180.

8. Cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 152.

of the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* and has written with reference to the *Reyād-al-Muḥabbat* that its origin is *Afghan*.¹

But neither of the words *Afghan* and *Avghan* seem to be original. The root of both these words is very probably *Augan*, a Pahlavi word. Abul Fida was the first man, so far known, who employed the word *Afghan* in 255 A.H. in his *Tārīkh*, written in Arabic. No history earlier than that was written in the Persian language, where the original word might have been recorded. It appears that *Afghan* is an Arabic form of *Augan* and similarly its Turkish form is *Aughan*. The historians have changed some letters according to their language. *Augan* is said to have been a famous wrestler in the time of Faridun. Whenever people praised anybody for his bravery and chivalry they used to compare him with *Augan*. The poet Firdausi in his far-famed *Shāhnāmāh* compares the famous heroes with *Augan*. And because this nation was very strong and brave, and famous wrestlers like Harqil and Harmil belonged to it, it was named after *Augan*, the famous wrestler of Faridun.²

As to the origin of the *Afghans* there seems to be much divergence of opinion. Different stories are told about the genealogies of the *Afghans* by different historians, but it is accepted by most of the genealogists both of the East and of the West that they are Israelites. The mythological account given by the *Afghans* mentioned by the historians may be baseless but for the careful enquirer they have their value, and help him to arrive at right conclusions. Before passing any view regarding the genealogies of the *Afghans*, I shall summarise the views of the early Muslim historians and modern European genealogists, who have written histories in Persian, English and Pushto. The account they give of the origin of the *Afghans* is worthy of attention, and has already attracted the notice of many orientalists. The *Afghans*, according to almost all the oriental historians,³ claim themselves to be descended

1. Cf. Prof. Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, Vol. II, pp. 62-63.

2. Cf. Md. Abdus-Salam Khan—*Genealogy of the Afghans*, p. 17. For the tradition of the derivation of the word 'Afaghan' from 'Afghana' the ancestor of the Afghans and from the Persian word Fughan—see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 5; the *Tadhkirat-al-Mulūk*, Raverty's Introduction to the *Afghan Grammar*, pp. 12-13 and Jamaluddin Afghani's, 'Hamari Qawm,' p. 7.

3. Oriental works on the Afghan and their genealogy :—

(a) the *Tārīkh-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khān*.

(b) the *Khulāṣat-al-ansāb* of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān.

(c) the *Tadhkirat-ul-abrar* of Akhund Darwiza, composed in 1611 A.D. The author was a Turkish saint. He was a great adventurer. He has critically described the manners and customs of the Afghan in his books of adventure. (Aligarh Muslim University Library MS. No. 1/135).

(d) the *Tawārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhi*.

(e) the *Tārīkh-i-Nisbat-i-Afāghina* of Sheikh 'Abd-al-Razzāq Mati Zai, styled also Bala Pir son of the great Sheikh Qasim.

(f) the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi* of Sheikh 'Abbās Sarwani.

(g) the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghāni* of Sheikh Ni'matullah, composed in 1021 A.H. See author's article on it (Cf. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, April & July, 1948).

from the Jews, a claim that is considered probable by most of the modern writers. There are, however, some other historians, who differ from this view.

Let us first examine the view of Ferishta, who does not approve the general view. Ferishta, Ni'matullah and Akhund Darwizah¹ were contemporaries. The last two declared the Afghans as Israelites, but Ferishta consulting *Maṭla'al-Anwar* degraded the Afghan genealogy and described them as the descendants of Pharaoh (فِرْعَوْن). Ferishta says, "When Prophet Moses prevailed over the reprobate Pharaoh, many of his chiefs were repentant and were converted to the religion of Moses. Some of the chiefs, who were devoted to Pharaoh and his god, in the grossness of their ignorance, rejected Islam; and having left their native land emigrated to India, and settled in the Sulaiman mountains. There their tribes grew numerous, and received the name of Afghans." Ferishta is not supported by contemporary historians. Abul Faḍl says, "Some Afghans consider themselves to be of Egyptian extraction asserting that when the children of Israel returned from Jerusalem to Egypt, this tribe emigrated to Hindoostan."² Akhund Darwizah did not consult Ferishta, otherwise he would have certainly discussed the matter along with the general complaints against the Afghans' bad character. Had the view of Ferishta been reasonable, Ni'matullah would have discussed it in his book the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*.³ Malik Aḥmad entitled *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi* sent reliable scholars to the ancient and present places of the Afghans in 1030 A.H. (1621 A.D.) to collect material about their genealogies.⁴ Thus he compiled the famous *Mir'at-al-Afghānī* on the genealogy of the Afghans and declared them to be Israelites. In the *Maṭla'-al-Sa'dain* there are some remarkable passages, where the Afghans are believed to be Turks or Mughals.⁵ The Turks and Mughals in the beginning did not believe in Islam, but the real Afghans agreeing with the unanimous reports of oriental authors, were already Muslims, and cannot therefore be identified with the Afghans mentioned in the *Maṭla'-al-Sa'dain* and the *Jamī'-ut-Tawārīkh*.⁶

(h) the *Mir'at-al-Afghānī* of Malik Aḥmad *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi*, composed about 1030, A.H./1621 A.D.

(i) the *Tadhkirat-al-Mulūk*, written in Pushto. It deals with the history of the house of Suddozo's tribe of the Afghans. (Raverty's Introduction to the Afghan Grammar).

(j) the *Ansab-i-Afghānī* of Fariduddin Aḥmad.

(k) the *Akhbar-al-awliā Min Lisanil-Āṣafiya*, R.A.S.B. MS. No. 273.

1. Cf. Brigg's *Ferishta*, Part I, p. 6.

2. Cf. Abul Faḍl, Part II, p. 178.

3. Cf. For the critical account of the book and its author see my article the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, 'Islamic Culture,' Hyderabad, April and July 1948.

4. Cf. H. G. Raverty—*Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*, p. 344.

5. For the passages see Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, Vol. II, p. 68.

6. Cf. Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, Vol. II, p. 68.

When the European historians came into the field, they were divided into two groups—one supporting the general view that the Afghans were Israelites and the other refuting it. The Armenians held that the Afghans descended from them, and are supported by some European historians. According to them the Armenians, who were called Afghans also, migrated from Armenia to Afghanistan and India and accepted Islam. This theory does not appear to be correct. For the Afghans do not claim themselves to be Armenians nor is this theory confirmed by any oriental historian. Dr. Dorn rightly observes, "But the story related by Clariant that the Afghans believe Japhet had three sons (Armen, Carduel and Aghwan) whose descendants left Armenia, and emigrated to the Sulaiman mountains deserves not the smallest notice, nor have I read of such a belief of the Afghan in any oriental author. Notwithstanding, however, the entire defect of proofs to support the Armenian descent of the Afghans, Krusinsky, Jacober, and Reineggs appear to have been convinced of it."¹ St. Martin in his account of the Armenian Arghowans refutes the theory that the Afghans belonged to the Armenian race.²

Some historians are of opinion that the Afghans were of Aryan descent. In the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. Indians emigrated from the Indus to the valley of the Helmand in Afghanistan. They resemble the Rajputs in many customs and character. H. W. Bellew says, "Saraban is evidently a corruption, or perhaps a natural variant form of Suryabans—the solar or royal race—now represented in India by the Rajputs. Similarly the name of his sons Krishyun and Sharjyun, and of his grandson Sheorani, are clearly changed forms of the common Rajput and Brahman proper names Krishan, Surjan, and Shivaram or Sheorani."³ The Sanskrit words are here transformed into the Pushto language and do not appear to be like the Hebrew and Chaldean words prevalent in the Pushto language as will be shown later on. The Afghans resemble the Jews more than they do the Rajputs. As a result of association with the Rajputs they adopted certain things peculiar to the Rajputs, but that does not establish that they are of the Rajput descent.

Lt.-General Sir George Macmunn observes: "This race (Semitic) claims that it is descended from Saul by a grandson Afghana, said to have been Solomon's Commander-in-Chief, through one Kish or Kais, eighteenth in descent from the first King of Israel. There is no direct evidence in support of this claim."⁴

All the Afghans without any exception claim their descent from Qais 'Abd-al-Rashīd. He was a descendant of Ya'qūb Israel. He accepted Islam with three Afghan chiefs during the time of Prophet Muḥammad in 9 A.H. at the request of the famous Khalid ibn Walīd. He is supposed to have supported the cause of the Prophet and aided him with arms.

1. Cf. Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, Vol. II, p. 71.

2. St. Martin—*Memoirs Sur Armenia*, Vol. I, pp. 213-226.

3. Cf. Bellew (H. W.)—*The Races of Afghanistan*, p. 21).

4. Cf. George Macmunn—*Afghanistan*, p. 19.

He was styled by the Prophet 'Patan' signifying the keel of a ship. Therefore all his descendants are called Patans. He died at the age of 87 in 40 A.H.¹ Many European historians doubt this theory and say that had Qais accepted Islam during the time of the Prophet, it would have been mentioned in the *Tradition*. This is due to their ignorance of the time and circumstances of the composition of the *Tradition*. It was arranged and brought into book form during the time of Caliph 'Abdul 'Aziz in 101 A.H. (719 A.D.). The Afghans did not belong to the Arabs, as the latter would have kept in memory this event and would have reproduced it at the time of the composition of the *Tradition* one hundred years afterwards. Besides, it was not a religious matter necessary to be remembered. The Afghans fought against the enemies side by side with the Muslims from the beginning of Islam, therefore their claim that they had accepted Islam during the time of the Prophet may be correct. Besides, it is an historical fact that in the 7th Hijri era, the Prophet sent 'Abdullah bin Hūdhāfa with a letter to Khusrau Parwiz, the King of Iran, asking him to accept Islam. But the king was so much enraged at the invitation that he tore the letter into pieces. Khusrau was killed by his own brother. Shortly after his death a large number of his subjects accepted Islam.² It is very probable that at that time Qais had accepted Islam.

Some of the English historians even doubt the origin of Qais. "If," writes Prof. Dowson in a letter to *The Times* in 1859, "it were worthy of consideration it is still inconsistent with the notion that the Afghans are descendants of the lost ten tribes. Saul was of the tribe of Benjamin, and that tribe was not one of the lost ten. There remains the question of feature. This, no doubt, has its weight."³ Elphinstone says, "If any other argument were required to disprove this part of this history, it is furnished by the Afghan historians themselves, who state that Saul was the forty-fifth in descent from Abraham, and Kyse the thirty-seventh from Saul. The first of these genealogies is utterly inconsistent with those of the sacred writings, and the second allows only thirty-seven generations for a period of sixteen hundred years."⁴ From Qais, whose own tribe originally was but an insignificant people in respect of numbers and powers, the Afghan genealogists derive all the Afghans partly by direct descent and partly by adoption on account of a similarity of language and social polity. The author of the *Hayāt-i-Afghāni*, who is a strong follower of Elphinstone believes that Qais, who was residing at Pusht in the jurisdiction of Ghor accepted Islam with Shansab. There-

1. Cf. *The Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahāni*, Bankipur, MS. No. 529 foll. 84-87. Jamaluddin Afghāni wrongly says that he was 40 years old when he died. It meant that he was only 9 years old when he accepted Islam. A child of nine years of age cannot be the leader of his nation (Hamari Qawm, p. 10).

2. Sulaiman Nadvi's *Rahmat-ul-lil-'Almin*, Part I, pp. 185-187.

3. Cf. Malleson—*History of Afghanistan*, p. 39.

4. Cf. Elphinstone—*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*, p. 156.

fore, the name of Qais cannot be regarded as artificial. The Afghans are proud to trace their origin to Qais, as he was the greatest of the seventy chiefs who accepted Islam in the beginning. Ancient genealogies, generally speaking, show an absurd disproportion between the length of the periods they cover and the number of personages who find place in the genealogical trees. The discrepancy leads one undoubtedly to the conclusion that there have been omissions of many names from the genealogies, for the number of patriarchs mentioned alone could not conceivably have covered the entire period dealt with in the genealogies. The genealogies of the Hindus and of many Iranian tribes recorded in the *Asrar-al-Baqia* of al-Biruni and of the Turks, in spite of their being defective in the above sense have been accepted. The merit and genuineness of all genealogies are to be judged from the famous historical names that occur in these and by no other standard. It is likely that the unmentioned names were not considered important enough to be remembered, and were allowed to be forgotten. On the mere ground, therefore, that the names occurring in the genealogical trees are few, and the period covered is long, the Afghan genealogies cannot be summarily rejected as being inaccurate.

Some later historians think that the claim of the Afghans that they are the descendants of Ya'qūb Israel originates from the time when the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni* was composed by Ni'matullah (1021/1612). M. Longworth Dames says, "The theory of Hebrew descent of the Afghans especially of the Durranis, who as stated above are assumed to be the only true Afghans, which many modern writers such as Bellew, Yule, Holdich and to some extent Raverty have advocated is of purely literary origin and may be traced back to the Makhzan-i-Afghani..... and does not seem to have been recorded before the end of the 16th century."¹ Mr. G. P. Tate² is of the opinion that in the 15th century of the Christian era, when the Afghans rose to power, they began to claim themselves to be the descendants of Israelites. This is mere presumption and not a statement of the actual fact. Before the rise of the Afghans Hamidullah-Mustawfi had already declared the Afghans to be Israelites in his work *Tārīkh-i-Guzida*, which was composed in the 12th century A.D. as stated by Ni'matullah. *Sheikh* Mali, a distinguished person among the Yusuf Zai tribe wrote in Pushto a work on the Israelite descent of the Afghans between 816 and 828 A.H. Another work was written in Pushto on the same subject by or probably by the order of *Khan* Kaju about 900 A.H. Upon these two works were based the *Tārīkh-i-Hāfiz Rahmat* and *Khulaṣat-al-Ansab* of Hāfiz Rahmat *Khān*.³ Besides even before Ni'matullah had written, Akhund Darwiza was wandering in the Afghan countries and preaching to them during the reign of Akbar. He wrote a book of his adventures namely *Tadhkirat-al-Abrar* in 1611 A.D. ten years before the composition of the *Tārīkh-i*

1. Cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 150.

2. Cf. *Author of the Kingdom of Afghanistan*, (1911 A.D.).

3. L. Cf. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XL, IV, Part I, p. 81.

Khān-i-Jahānī, and declared the Afghans to be Israelites. Therefore, Ni'matullah was not the man, who first propounded this theory as is supposed by the above-mentioned English historians. Ni'matullah was, however, the first man to trace the genealogy of the Afghans to Hadrat Ya'qūb Israel in a methodical way. The chief distinctive feature of his Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī is the genealogical account of the various Afghan tribes. They are all believed to be descended from 'Abd-al-Rashid Pathan, who himself was said to have sprung from the line of Jacob, the Israelite. The full genealogical table of the different clans of the Afghans named after Sarbani, Batani, and Ghur-ghusht, the three sons of 'Abd-al-Rashid, has been drawn in Chapter VI. Ni'matullah has taken much care in producing systematic genealogies of the Afghans and in asserting that they are Israelites.

The real national name of the Afghans is Israel, but they are not known by this name. They only claim themselves to be the descendants of Hadrat Ya'qūb Israel. The reasons behind it are that from the time of Hadrat Mūsa to that of Hadrat 'Isa (the period of about 1335 years), the Egyptian and the Babylonian kings always persecuted them. They, therefore, became wanderers and in order to escape oppression and tyranny changed their national name and began to call themselves Pushtun or Pakhtun.

The Afghans were turned out of Syria and they settled in Khurāsān and its surrounding countries as will be shown later on. Whenever people asked them about their nationality they replied in Hebrew 'Phashq' or 'Phasht.' Phashq means to liberate, to make free, to split, and Phasht means to spread.¹ The Arabic equivalent of the word Phasq is فَشَقَّ. Pasht may be a corrupt form of 'Phasq' or 'Phasht.' The word Pushtun seems to have been derived from this very word. In Hebrew Pasht is the name of a deity and also of a city in Egypt. In the Pushto language, Pastu means an inner room with just one entrance. It might be that they had migrated from Jerusalem to their present mountainous country and called themselves Pusht after the name of a village in Jerusalem bearing the same name.² It is also possible that as they were settled in that country by Bukht-i-Naşar, they must have begun to call themselves as Bakhtun or Pakhtun. However, they became known by this name very probably from the 6th century B.C. The two tribes of Israelites, who settled at Jerusalem, hanged Jesus Christ. They are known as the cursed among all the believers in the inspired books of God. Therefore they changed their national name and called themselves 'Yahud' after the name of their place of residence 'Yahudia.' Similarly this nation also changed its original name.

1. Cf. Fuerst—*Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, pp. 1161 and 1163. For the other views of its derivation see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 5, and *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 150.

2. Cf. Jamaluddin Afghānī—*Hamari Qawm*, p. 8.

The author of *Nairang-i-Afghān*¹ and A. K. Johnston² relate an event in support of the theory that the Afghans are Israelites. When Nādir Shāh on his way to India reached Peshawar the chiefs of the Yusuf Zai tribe presented him with a MS. of the Old Testament (توریت) written in 'Ibrani' (Hebrew) language along with some other documents relating to their old prayers. The Jewish soldiers recognized them at once.

It is recorded in the Bible that when Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem (Syria), a new star appeared in the sky. Seeing that star some scientists of the East went to Jerusalem and asked Herod, the king of the place, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him." Herod was very much troubled at this news and consulted the chief priests about the birthplace of Christ. They said that Bethlehem was mentioned in the Old Testament as the birthplace of Christ. Accordingly Herod sent the wise men of the East to Bethlehem to search for the child. "The star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was." They entered the house where Mary was with her child. They visited him, presented him gold and frankincense and myrrh and returned to their country.³ It was Moses alone who, in the Old Testament told the Israelites about the appearance at a future date of the Messiah and had also specified the signs and portents that his birth would be attended with. It was therefore be safely concluded that the three wise men of the East who went to pay homage to Jesus at Bethlehem were acquainted with and believed in the prophecy of Moses and were therefore in all likelihood Israelites.

Sir John Malcolm says, "Although their right to this proud descent (from the Jews) is very doubtful, it is evident from their personal appearance and many of their usages, that they are a distinct race, different from the Persians, Tartars and Indians, and this alone seems to give some credibility to a statement which is contradicted by many strong facts, and of which no direct proof has been produced. If an inference could be drawn from the features of a nation resembling those of another, the Kashmiris would certainly, by their Jewish features, prove a Jewish origin, which not only Bernier but Forster and perhaps others have remarked."⁴ Burn in his *Travels of Bukhara* (p. 39) says that the Afghans call themselves Israelites but hate the Jews. There is a custom among the Afghans as among the Jews that a younger brother marries the widow of his elder brother. This is permitted according to the Old Testament and the Qur'ān as well. If we refute their claim, then it is surprising indeed that in spite of the fact that they hate and scorn the Jews, they claim to be the descendants of the Jews. We have no strong

1. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-Nairang-i-Afghān*, pp. 122-21.

2. Cf. *Review of Religions* (Qadian), June 1904 A.D.

3. Cf. *The Bible* (The New Testament)—St. Mathew, Chapter II.

4. Cf. Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, Vol. II. p. 65.

reason to refute their claim when we know that a group of the Israelites came to the East. He concludes that though he differs from the view of a great historian, namely Mounstuart Elphinstone, yet his argument is reasonable. Dr. Bellew¹ supports him and says that there is a custom prevalent among the Afghan wanderers that an Afghan like Haqrat Ya'qūb has to serve his father-in-law for a fixed period of time before marriage. He further says that this nation is very disobedient and accustomed to commit sin like the ancient Jews. Being Israelites, they are not honoured and respected. Granting for the sake of argument that they adopted this genealogy, while they belong to some other nationality, one does not see the reason why they should have adopted a course that was extremely derogatory.

T. L. Pennell² says that anybody, who would see his Afghan patients in his hospital would surely declare them as Jews. According to him, among others, two important Jewish customs are prevalent among the Afghans, which are not followed by other Muslims:

(a) If a pestilence breaks out, they sacrifice a goat or a sheep in order to escape the disease and sprinkle its blood on their doors and in their houses; and

(b) They also make a calf 'scapegoat' of all their sins and let it roam about. But now this custom is not generally practised.

According to the Old Testament (349) Bukht-i-Naṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) the Asryani (اسریانی) king captured Simirya (سیمیریآ) and took away the Israelites and caused them to settle in Hara (هرات), Habir and near Gauzan river and in the cities of Med or Majus. The sons of Asaf and Afghan were residing in Syria but they ('Aziz and Daniel) who had faith in Islam, propagated by Moses, were forced by Nebuchadnezzar to flee to their present abode.³ It is said that the present Ghor was named by the Afghans after the name of a valley in Syria. Forlong⁴ says that the Jews claim that they settled in Bakhtar Dahri Rud (هرات) in 630 B.C. and two and a half tribes in Herat. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* it is stated that during the regime of the Shansabi dynasty there was a people called Bani Israel, who traded with the neighbouring countries and finally settled in Ghor.⁵

Mr. Malleson says, "Following Abdullah Khan and other Afghan writers, Ferrier is disposed to believe that the Afghans represent the lost ten tribes."⁶ Sir William Jones, a great scholar, was the first to make great researches in Asiatic sciences and traced the lost ten tribes of Israelites in the mountains of Afghanistan, as the traces answered to the signs of Israelites, who had been lost 1300 years ago. He concluded

1. Cf. *Travelling Mission of Afghanistan*, pp. 27-146.

2. Cf. *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, pp. 31-32.

3. Cf. *The Akhbār-al-'Auliya*. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. No. 273 Foll. 226-227.

4. Cf. *Science of Religion*, p. 31.

5. Cf. *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. I, p. 223.

6. Cf. *The Tārīkh-i-Afghānistan*, p. 39.

that they were the wanderers of Jerusalem and Arzrat was their place of residence.¹ H. W. Bellew says, "In corroboration of this we have the testimony of the Prophet Esdras to the effect that the ten tribes of Israel, who were carried into captivity, subsequently escaped and found refuge in the country of Arsreth, which is supposed to be identical with the Hazarah country of the present day, and of which Ghor forms a part."² Elphinstone refuted Arsreth (ارزرت) as being identical with Hazarah of Mongol Chungizi (هزاره مغول چنگیزی). But there is great difference between ارزرت and هزاره جات. The latter resembles هزاره جات more than it does ارزرت, and it is still found in Afghanistan. This is confirmed by Sir William Jones, who in a note on a Translation by Vansittart,³ writes that Arsreth (ارزرت) is the place from where according to Esdras (اسدياس) the Jews were turned out. Jamaluddin Afghāni says that the Afghans gave battle to Alexander the Great, when the latter passed through their mountainous country. They were living there during the time of Shāh Gushtasp of Persia, and they were paying tribute to Rustam, the famous hero of *Shāhnāmāh*.⁴ It is evident from historical records that under Sultān Maḥmud Ghaznavi (about 1000 A.D.) and even before him they had already inhabited the mountainous forts, which they at present occupy and except the story of the Jews coming to Afghanistan we read of no other general emigration, to show that they inhabit their present country from time immemorial.

The original language of the Afghans was Hebrew (عبرانی), but time and circumstances changed their language to the present Pushto language. Being exiled, they came to Khurāsān as captives. By that time the influence of the Old Testament had disappeared. The nations with which they came in contact were Persians, Arabs and Tartars. At the beginning of their settlement they were surrounded by Persian-speaking people—Hiravi, Zabli, Dari and Sikhzai languages, the different dialects of Persian. According to Jamaluddin Afghāni Pushto resembles the old Persian and on this basis he concludes that the Afghans are of Iranian race. But his argument does not seem to be sound. The Afghans were neither a ruling race nor good traders, and therefore their Hebrew language did not spread. On the contrary their language was influenced by the mountainous climate and the language of the neighbours with whom they came into contact from time to time. Dr. Dorn rightly observes, "This country (Khurāsān), however is not exclusively inhabited by them, and various other nations have a share in it; which circumstance accounts for their language (the stock of which seems to be original) having admitted a great many foreign terms and forms, but more

1. Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, Article No. IV, p. 76.

2. Cf. *The Races of Afghanistan*, p. 15.

3. Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, Article No. IV, p. 76.

4. Cf. *Hamari Qawm*, p. 13.

especially Persian ones."¹ The result was that they forgot their own original language gradually and steadily and began to use the words of other languages with their own accent and thus like 'Urdu' a new language was evolved.² This new language is known as Pushto language but their pronunciation of the words of all these languages was their own. There is a great deal of similarity between the Pushto and Semitic languages. There are still some Hebrew words in Pushto, the presence of which shows that it originated from the Hebrew language. Sir William Jones observes, "The Pushto language, of which I have seen a dictionary has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaick."³ Some of the Hebrew words are given below:—

قیس، شہسب، شیث، (بنجی، مخفف بنجمن)، حر میل، حر قیل، غور، خیبر، پختنه یا پختون،
 روہ، کوہ سلیمان، غورے مرغ، پشت، پشت رود، نیبر، بردرانی، سیبی، درہ مشکن، غاڑہ،
 اور، شلح (بمعنی نان عبد فسخ)، تورا۔

Thus summing up the views of the historians we reach at the conclusion that the Afghans are Israelites. The genealogy of the Afghans due to their being in exile and in wretched condition, remained unknown for a long time. Their noble families possess pedigrees and genealogical trees. If we assert that they do not belong to Israelites we shall have to point out some other nations as having descended from the lost ten tribes of Israelites, but we find that no other nation except the Afghans can lay claim to this. Their claim that they are Israelites is supported by their art and culture. Due to natural necessities their old language was changed into a new one, still the origin of it is proved by the presence of some words of Hebrew origin in the Pushto language. Even before Islam communication had gone on between them and the Jews in Arabia.⁴ Most of the European historians unanimously believe that the Afghans resemble the Jews in forms and features in spite of the fact that some of them emphatically declare that the Afghans do not belong to Israelites. They put on long and loose garments as was customary among Israelites and this is confirmed by the Bible. They perform several Jewish customs. Like the Jews they celebrate 'Id-i-Fasah, when they prepare a kind of bread called شلح. Like the Jews many of them are selfish, hard-hearted, ignorant, dull-headed, fierce and disobedient, but brave and courageous. Dr. Dorn even admits that the Afghans are similar to the Jews in character and features and says, "The only proof that might be adduced of their pretended extraction is the striking likeness of the Afghan features to the Jewish, which by such as do not pay the least attention to their claim to a Jewish origin." The Afghans not only

1. Cf. Prof. Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, Vo. II, p. 72.

2. Cf. *Hamari Qawm*, p. 13.

3. Cf. *Introduction to the Dictionary of Pushto* by Raverty.

4. Cf. *Hamari Qawm*, p. 10.

claim themselves to be Israelites but also their tribes, mountains and rivers are named after the great men among the Israelites ، تخت سلیمانی

موسی خیل ، دره خیبر ، دوا دزی ، کوه سلیمانی ، کوه سری وغیره . There are many towns in Afghanistan and Kashmir which have been named after the old names of Syria. The new settlements of America serve good examples in analogy. It appears that the Afghans like the English have thus given proof of their patriotism. It is no doubt remarkable that 2600 years have passed since the Afghans settled in Afghanistan and the features of the places through which the invaders of India have passed from time to time have not changed much even now. This is due to the fact that they were very shy of inter-marrying. Though they were surrounded by different nationalities, they were steadfast in their own national principles and moral character. They are known by the following different names :—

1. Israelite, the real name of this nation,
2. Pushtun or Pakhtun, adopted by themselves,
3. Sulaimani, called by the Arabs,
4. Pathan, called by the Indians, and
5. Afghan and Aughan, called by foreigners specially the Iranians and the Tartars.

A more vigorous search, I am sure, would yield information of greater value and of a more comprehensive nature.

S. M. IMAMUDDIN.

EARLY INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE

(V) REJECTION OF JAGIRS

THE Chishti saints not only abstained from the society of kings and nobles, but also rejected their offers of Jagirs and endowments. They thought, and rightly too, that such acceptance would make them subservient to the royal wish and fetter the independence of their soul. However humble the offer, it brings with itself a sense of obligation, and so the mystics declined the offers with the couplet on their lips :

شہ مارا دہ دھد منت نہد رازق ما رزق ہے منت دھد

(The king gives us a village and holds us under an obligation while our Providence gives us our daily bread without placing any such obligation).

Even when jagirs were offered they refused to take them. Sultān Shams-ud-din Iltutmish made an offer of a jagir to Shaikh Quṭb-ud-din Bakhtiyār Kākī but the latter declined it saying : "It is not the practice of the saints of our *Silsilah* to accept any such thing."² Another contemporary of the Quṭb Shāhib, Shaikh Ḥamīd-ud-din Sawālī Nāgūri, passed his days in great poverty but never took anything from kings and nobles. His pathetic story illustrates how mystics chose to live in abject poverty rather than accept a jagir or an endowment. Shaikh Ḥamīd-ud-din lived in Nāgūr and eked out his meagre livelihood by cultivating a bigah of land. The Governor of Nāgūr sent some money to him. He refused to have it saying : "This one bigah of land is enough for me." The Governor reported the matter to the king who issued a firman conferring a jagir on the Shaikh. The Governor came to him with the Imperial farman and a purse of tankas. Shaikh Ḥamīd-ud-din went into his house to consult his wife. He was in extreme poverty then. His tattered loin cloth was all that he had on his body. His wife had no cloth to cover her head. When he consulted her, she replied : "Do not dishonour your *faqiri* by accepting this. I have spun two seers of yarn. This will be enough for your *tahbund* (فوطہ) and my *dupatta* (دامن). These

1. Continued from page No. 398, October 1948 issue.

2. *Rāḥat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 35 (b) (MS).

words pleased the Shaikh and gave him immense relief. He then went to the Governor and told him that he would not accept the jagir.¹

Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar, the chief disciple of Qutb Ṣāhib, was equally firm in this matter. He had a big family and many a time the children had to starve, but he never accepted gifts from kings and governors. When Ulugh Khān, who later became Sultān Balban, assigned 4 villages to him, he told him with remarkable complacency :

”طالب این بسیارند - بدیشان بدهی“

(There are many who desire it ; give it to them).²

Rāhat-ul-Qulūb says that Bābā Ṣāhib refused this gift saying that he did not want to be known as دار ویش دیه دار (darvesh possessing a village).³ Bābā Ṣāhib's chief disciple displayed the same spirit at the capital as his master had shown in an out-of-the-way village in the Punjab.

During his early years, Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya had to pass his days in extreme poverty. "The door of *futuḥ* (unasked for charity) had not yet been opened upon him." Many a time he had to go without meals." In the days of Balban, "the Shaikh used to say in his later years," melons were sold at the rate of one jital per maund but very often the season passed without tasting a slice. . . . Two seers of bread could be had for a jital but out of sheer poverty I was unable to purchase it in the market. My mother, sister and other dependants suffered with me. . . . 'Nizām-ud-din ! We are the guests of God today !' (نظام الدین ! امروز ما مهمان خدا ایم) my mother used to say when we had no food left in the house."⁴ Sultān Jalāl-ud-din Khilji offered a few villages for his expenses. His disciples who had long stood the ordeal of starvation first persuaded and then argued with him to accept the offer. But in spite of their earnest appeals the Shaikh firmly refused the offer. He told his disciples to leave the *khānqah* if they desired luxury, and praised Mīr Khurd's grandfather, who saw the point of view of the saint. "It is you who assist and aid me in the service of religion."⁵

After Jalāl-ud-din Khilji, his successor Sultān 'Alā-ud-din Khilji also made an offer of certain villages and gardens to the Shaikh, but again he refused to accept them and said :

”اگر من ازین بابت قبول کنم مردمان چه گویند شیخ در باغ می رود - شیخ به تماشا می زرع و زمین می رود - زهه کار می که من کرده باشم“

1. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, pp. 139-140 (Lahore).

Siyar-ul-'Auliya, pp. 156-59 (Persian Text, Delhi).

2. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawad*, p. 99.

3. *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 35(a) (MS.).

4. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 120-121 (Delhi).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

(If I accept this, the people will say : the Shaikh goes to the garden. He goes to enjoy the view of his land and cultivation. Are these acts proper for me).¹
Then with tears in his eyes the Shaikh said :

”از خواجگان ما و مشائخان ما هیچ کس ازین بابت قبول نه کرده است ،،

(None of our elders and Shaikhs have accepted such things).²

Throughout his life, Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya, whom Prof. Moḥammad Habib rightly calls “ the greatest Indo-Muslim saint of all ages,”³ held fast to this tradition of his predecessors. His Khilāfat Nāma (patent of spiritual authority which entitled the receiver to enlist disciples) contained a definite instruction on the point. “ Do not accept any village or stipend or favour from kings and officials. It is not permitted to a darvesh.”⁴ To his nephew Khwāja Taqī-ud-din Noh, the Shaikh gave the following advice which very clearly expresses his attitude in the matter :

” هرچه بر تورد نگاه نه داری و آن را به خرچ رسانی - اگر بر تو چیز می نباشد هیچ دل خود را نگران نداری - که خدا ترا خواهد داد - و هیچ یکے را بدنخواهی و از خدا یکے را بدنخواهی - وجفا را به عطا بدل کنی - و دیه وادارارنستانی که درویش قرارداد وادارار خوار نه باشد - اگر تو چنین باشی بادشاهان بر در تو آئند ،،

(Whatever comes to thee keep it not but spend it. If thou hast nothing with thee, do not hanker after anything. God shall Himself give that to thee. And do not wish ill of anybody. Nor pray to God for the ill of anybody. Do good in return for evil. Do not accept villages or stipends for a darvesh should not be a stipend-holder. If thou shalt do so, rulers will come to thy door).⁵

Such were his definite instructions to his Khalifas, and they strictly adhered to them. Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar rejected Moḥammad bin Tughlaq's offer of a Jagir which the Sultān had sent through Kamal-ud-din Ṣaḥr-i-Jahān.⁶ Qaḍī Muḥi-ud-din Kāshānī tore up the farman of stipend (مال ادرار) the moment he became the disciple of Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya.⁷ Some time afterwards when the Shaikh gave

1. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawad*, p. 99.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

3. *Islamic Culture*, April 1946, p. 129.

4. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, (Lahore), pp. 181-356.

5. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya* (MS.)

6. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, (Lahore), pp. 219-220.

7. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*.

him Khilāfat. he impressed on him :

”می باید که تارک دنیا باشی - بسرے دنیا وارباب دنیا مائل نشوی - و دیہ قبول نہ کنی -

وصلہ بادشاہان نگیری ،،

[(You) ought to reject the world. Do not be inclined towards the world and the worldly men. Do not accept any village. And do not take any gift from kings].

Not long afterwards, 'Alā-ud-din Khilji offered him the Qāḍiship of Oudh, a post hereditary in his family. Qāḍi Muḥi-ud-din came to his Shaikh and sought his advice. The Shaikh was angry and took back the Khilāfat Nāma from him.² It is clear from this episode that the Great Shaikh had made it a rigid rule of his mystic discipline that no one associated with kings --either through shughl or through jagirs--was to be entrusted with the task of initiating disciples.

Not to speak of jagirs, even presents of kings and nobles were reluctantly accepted. Khwāja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyār Kāki did not accept cash in coins from Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-din Aibek.³ Shaikh Nūr Turk declined to accept the gold sent by Raḍia.⁴ Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya did not accept the *futuḥ* of Sultān Mubarak Khilji.⁵ It was after much persuasion that Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar accepted two thousand *tankas* out of a gift of a lac by Sultān Moḥammad bin Tughlaq through Barani and Firūz.⁶ If they ever accepted anything, they took it with one hand and distributed it with the other. They did not keep these gifts with them. It was the practice at the khanqah of Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya that on Friday everything in store was given away to the poor and the house was cleared and swept.⁷ Bābā Farīd was very particular about distributing among the poor the gifts he had received

1. Often ترک دنیا is taken to mean the renunciation of the world. By ترک دنیا the Shaikh meant rejection of all worldly desires and all material ambitions. In *Fawā'id-ul-Fawad* the Shaikh says

” ترک دنیا ان نیست کہ کسے خورد را برهنه کند مثلاً لنگو ته به بندد و بنشیند -

ترک دنیا آن است کہ لباس بپوشد و طعام بخورد اما آنچه می رسد روا بدارد و بجمع او میل نہ کند
و خاطر را متعلق چیزے ندارد .. ترک دنیا است ،،

(The rejection of the world does not mean that one should divest himself of clothes or put on a loin cloth and sit idle. Instead 'rejection of world' means that one may put on clothes and take food. What comes to him he should take and not hoard it. He should not place his heart in anything. Only this is 'rejection of world')—Maulana Rūm's description of ترک دنیا is significant.

چست دنیا از خدا غافل بدن

ے قماش و نقره و فرزند وزن

2. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, (MS.).

3. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya* (Delhi), p. 59.

4. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawad*, p. 161.

5. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Conversation 87.

The Shaikh accepted the money sent to him by the upstart Khusrau, but distributed it immediately in charity. Vide Barani.

6. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya* (Lahore), pp. 223-221.

7. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya* (Delhi), p. 139.

from nobles and kings. A later biographer of Bābā Farīd, 'Alī Aṣghar Chishtī, relates a very interesting and significant story about him. Once Balban sent a dish of *tankas* to Bābā Ṣāhib who accepted the offer after considerable reluctance and ordered his disciple and son-in-law, Maulana Badr-ud-din Iṣḥāq, to distribute them at once among the poor and the needy. The sun had already set and it was getting dark but the Shaiḥ would not wait for the day. His khanqah, he used to say, was not a storehouse for royal gifts. In obedience to the Shaiḥ's wishes Maulana Iṣḥāq doled out all the money. Having done it he brought a candle just to see whether anything was still left. He found just one coin which he put in his cap to give it to some poor fellow in the morning. Soon afterwards Bābā Farīd went to the mosque to lead the 'Ishā (night) prayer. Three times he began but could not finish it. There was something which disturbed his mind. He asked Maulana Badr-ud-din if he had distributed all that money. The Maulana replied that he had given away, all excepting one coin. Bābā angrily took back that coin and threw it away, and then peacefully led the prayer. Aṣghar Chishtī then says that throughout the night Bābā Ṣāhib lamented why he had touched that coin.¹ This story illustrates the principles of the early saints in these matters.²

As gifts were very often rejected by the saints, the kings employed such men as could persuade them to accept their gifts. When 'Alā-ud-din Khilji wished to send gold *tankas* to Ḥaḍrat Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar of Panipat, he sought the intercession of Amir Khusrau who, through his poetic gift succeeded in inducing the saint to accept the royal present.³

Indeed it was their indifference to worldly men that raised them in public estimation. One who does not desire anything from great men develops a highly independent character. The moment a man begins to covet anything from anybody his spiritual independence withers away. "Covetousness debaseth a man's spirit." Shaiḥ Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya persistently impressed upon his disciples that one who did not hanker after great men became a great moral force. Avidity breeds contempt. Indifference and resignation enhance respect and create self-confidence. One day he told his audience a very significant story in this connection :—

"There was a saint who was known as Shaiḥ 'Alī. One day he was sewing his *khirqah* with his legs stretched out. In the meantime the Khalifa arrived. He did not move from his place, as he asked him to come in. The Khalifa entered and after compliments sat down. The Shaiḥ returned the compliment. The Ḥāḥib who was near the Khalifa said ; "Shaiḥ ! fold your legs." The Shaiḥ paid no heed to it. Twice

1. *Jawāhar-i-Faridi* (MS.).

2. A saint Khwaja Karim did not touch coin after taking up *fakiri*.—*Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, p. 11.

3. حیات خسرو Sa'id Ahmad Marahrawi, p. 18.

or thrice the Hājib repeated this. When the Khalifa was leaving the Shaikh took his hand in one of his and of the Hājib's in another and said : " I have shut my hands and therefore I need not fold my legs."¹

(VI) REJECTION OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Equally strong was the condemnation of government service by the saints. " No shughl," was the explicit order of the Shaikh and anybody who had decided to serve God dare not transgress it. The Shaikh's wrath always fell on the offender. The punishment assumed various forms. Sometimes the offender's Khilāfat Nāma was cancelled ; at other times he was expelled from the mystic fraternity. Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya took back the Khilāfat Nāma from Qāḍi Muḥi-ud-din Kāshani the moment he showed inclination to government service.² Indeed government service was considered as something which polluted one's spiritual qualities and incapacitated him for all higher work. God and Mammon could not be served simultaneously. One whose hands and feet moved at royal bidding could not ' have a soul of his own.'³ Elder mystics, therefore, completely discarded shughl. They rejected government posts whenever they were offered to them. They were not willing to feed their body and starve their soul. Although Sultān Shams-ud-din Iltutmish was in the good books of Shaikh Quṭb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kāki, yet when he offered him the distinction of Shaikh-ul-Islam he emphatically declined it.⁴ His example was followed by succeeding mystics. They refused to take up service under the Sultāns. When Balban requested Shaikh Kamāl-ud-din Zāhid, a saint and scholar of great eminence, to accept the post of Imam, the Shaikh sternly replied : " Our prayer is all that is left to us. Does the Sultān wish to take that too."⁵ When apologies and refusals failed to secure exemption from government service the mystics sometimes resorted to various devices to avoid their appointment. Shaikh Hassan whom the Sultān wanted to give the office of Qāḍi turned mad in order to evade the appointment. When Khāwja Quṭb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kāki heard this he remarked : " Shaikh Hassan is not mad, he is *dana* (wise). The saint afterwards came to be known as Shaikh Hasan Dānā.⁶

Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya had great aversion to government service. When he was a young student at Delhi he had once aspired

1. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, p. 7-8.

2. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*.

3. Prof. Mohammad Habib, "Shaikh Naṣiruddin Maḥmud Chiragh-i Dehli"—*Islamic Culture*, Vol. XX, 2., p. 136.

4. *Siyar-ul-'Arifin*, Ferishta.

5. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya* (Delhi), p. 113-114.

Shaikh Kamāl-ud-din Zāhid was one of the most outstanding scholars of Delhi. He was known for his remarkable knowledge of Ḥadīth. Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya learnt Ḥadīth from him.

6. *Raudat-ul-Aqṭab* (Delhi), p. 84.

for the office of a Qaḍī. That was the highest ambition of a young and brilliant scholar fresh from college in those days.¹ He requested Shaikh Najib-ud-din Mutawakkil, who lived in his vicinity, to pray to God for his appointment as Qaḍī. Shaikh Mutawakkil, who saw beams of spiritual greatness on the forehead of this young scholar, very significantly remarked: "God forbid that you should be that (Qaḍī)," ² as if there were something obnoxious about the post. After some time Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya went to Ajohdan and joined the discipleship of Shaikh Farīd-ud-din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar. By that time all the secret flames of mundane ambitions had been extinguished in him. The Shaikh, at whose feet he had laid his head finally finished all possibility of its revival. An incident took place during the very early period of his initiation which gave the spiritual guide an opportunity to eliminate and wipe out all worldly ambitions from him. When Shaikh Nizām-ud-din was staying with his *pir* at Ajohdan, he met an old friend and class-fellow there. Seeing his grimy and tattered clothes he said: "Maulāna Nizām-ud-din! What misfortune has befallen you? Had you taken to the teaching profession at Delhi, you would have become a leading teacher of the day (مجتهد), in prosperous circumstances." The young disciple mentioned this to his Shaikh who in turn told him to recite the following to his friend when he met him next time:

نه همری تو مرا ، ره خریش گیر برو
ترا سعادت بادا ، مرا نگون ساری

(You are not my companion in this path. Seek your own way. Get along. May you have prosperity and misfortune be my share).³ This was the last occasion in Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya's life when the easy life of *shughl* might have attracted him but Bābā Farīd's teaching had affected him so deeply that nothing could distract him from the path he had chosen. Throughout his long life he was greatly averse to politics and *shughl*.⁴ He demanded from his older disciples complete severance from their earthly ties and a definite promise to abstain from service of kings. In one of his meetings he talked about اصحاب شغل (men engaged in government service) and again asked his disciples to abstain from government service (شغل و چاگری).⁵ As was his practice, the Shaikh illustrated his point by a story. His practice and precepts had a

1. "The great ambition of ulema is to be Mufti or teacher somewhere. If they aspire for something higher it is Qaḍīship of some place. Their highest ambition is the office of Ṣadr-i-Jāhan. Beyond that they dare not desire anything. But the *faqirs* have many ranks."—*Khair-ul-Majlis*, Conversation 62.

2. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, p. 28.

Siyar-ul-'Auliya (Lahore), p. 150.

3. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya* (MS.).

4. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, p. 204.

5. He told the story of one Shaikh Ḥamid who passed his days in government service and whom an angel advised to leave that. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, pp. 204-205.

great share in moulding the life of his disciples. When Moḥammad bin Tughlaq wanted to force them to take up government posts, they highly resented it. The elder disciples—Shaikh Nāsir-ud-din Chirāgh-i-Dehli, Maulana Shams-ud-din Yahya and Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar—faced the threats of the Sultān with a courage and resolution worthy of the great saint's disciples.

It may be pointed out that these restrictions were imposed upon disciples who were given patents of spiritual authority and were permitted to enrol *murids*. As far as the ordinary disciples were concerned, they were permitted some sort of *shughl*. Shaikh Nāsir-ud-din Chirāgh-i-Dehli made a distinction between service and service and permitted services which did not interrupt man's devotion to God. Hamid Qalandar thus recorded the proceedings of a meeting of the Shaikh :—

"A Mulla entered the Majlis and loudly accosted the Shaikh . . .

Hadrat Khawājā talked to the Mulla and enquired about his welfare.

'Throughout the day,' said the Mulla, 'I remain in the Diwān Khana and find no leisure from the execution of orders, etc. Pray for my welfare.' 'One who does good to mankind,' replied the Shaikh, 'is not harmed by serving in the Civil Department.' "

After this the Shaikh went on to narrate a long story bearing on the subject in the fashion of his spiritual master Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn 'Auliya, and brought home to the Mulla the possibility of attending to the health of the soul even while engaged in government service. Afterwards he said : "A man may do the work he is engaged in government service or other worldly pursuits, but he should never give his tongue rest from reciting His Name. (ذكر الله). Whether standing, sitting or lying he should pray to God as the Qur'ān enjoins—

الذين يذكرون الله قياما وقعودا وعلى جنوبهم ،

This conditional permission to join government service was given only to ordinary disciples, but to the mystics of higher order nothing of this sort was allowed.

Sometimes it is very pertinently asked—"How was it that Amir Khusrau, the most cherished disciple of Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya, spent all his life in courts and camps while his spiritual mentor had such bitter dislike for government service?" It may be pointed out in this connection that apart from the saint's personal regard and affection for the poet, Khusrau was not a mystic of higher order.² He was not given the patent of spiritual authority (خلافت نامہ) which alone barred a disciple from government service. A later hagiologist, Moḥammad Ghauthī, says that Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya wrote a letter to Amir

1. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Conversation, 36.

2. Once in an audition-party presided over by the Great Shaikh, Amir Khusrau rose up in an ecstasy of joy, common among the mystics while hearing *Sama'*. The Shaikh objected to this and said : "You are connected with the world; you are not permitted to rise up."—*Siyar-ul-'Auliya* (Lahore), pp. 466.

Khusrau advising him to abandon government service. This letter, concludes Ghauthi, ended with the following :¹

آمد آن که عہدہا تازہ کنیم
شد آنچه شد اے صنم گذشت آنچه گذشت (۲)

Khusrau's position is indeed very anomalous from this point of view. At a time when Sultān Mubārak Khilji's insolent fulminations against the Shaikh had sorely wrung every heart, the Imperial Hall resounded with Khusrau's panegyrics in his honour :—

شہا گنج بخشا کرم گسٹرا
معانی شناسا سخن پرورا 2

The question is why did the Shaikh permit his beloved Turk to continue in the service of the Court. The Shaikh had intuitive intelligence (*nafs-i-gira*) of a very high order and so he realized at an early stage that Khusrau's genius could best thrive in courts and camps. He did not, therefore, discourage him but on his part he never gave him the patent of spiritual authority.

One thing should be noted in this connection. In spite of all his association with kings and nobles, Khusrau had a very strong mystic vein. When Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khilji took him to task for having disclosed to his *pir* his intention of making a surprise visit, Khusrau told him that in disobeying him he stood in danger of losing his life but in playing false to his Shaikh there was danger of losing his faith. A very strong mystic note underlies this reply and shows that the mystic had subordinated the courtier and panegyrist in him. In one place, Khusrau, the mystic says :—

غره بہ نزدیکنی سلطان مشو بلبل باغ مکس خوان مشو
ہست وے از خرمن هستی حسے تا تو چہ باشی کہ نمی زوبسے

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI.

(To be continued)

1. *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS.).

2. And when the Sultān was murdered, Khusrau wrote : "The spirit of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn now in heaven will have its companions Jesus and Gabriel." *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Dr. Wahid Mirza, p. 129.

PROFESSOR RAMCHANDAR AS AN URDU JOURNALIST

NO better model of patience, perseverance, integrity, industry and studious habits could be found than life and career of Prof. Ramchandar.

Prof. Ramchandar was born in 1821, of a Kayasth family, neither rich, nor poor. His father Sunder Lal, was a Naib-Tahsildar of the District of Delhi, with his headquarters at Patna. Ten years later, Sunder Lal died after a brief illness leaving a widow and six children to mourn his loss. The family had a hard time, the future looked dark and dismal. But in his mother, Ramchandar found a great solace—she was a loving and devoted mother.

When Ramchandar was six years old, his parents admitted him in a *maktab*. Two years later he was sent to a European school. The boy evinced a keen interest in his studies.

A year after his father's death, according to the prevailing custom he was obliged to marry a girl, of a Kayasth family, who was deaf and dumb. What worse fate could be in store for him? Denied thus by a cruel destiny of the help he could expect from his life-partner, there was nothing that he could do. The boy had to face the situation which was not of his making. Much against his will he had to bid goodbye to his studies. With an additional member to the already large family, he had to shoulder a heavier burden. Now the problem for him was what to do to eke out a living? This was not an easy question for a lad of 18 to solve. After many humiliating experiences the boy secured a clerical job—which was certainly not to his liking. For three long years he plodded as a clerk, while his mind was thinking of studies. The natural corollary was that he proved a failure; but his failure proved a blessing. In spite of obstacles he sought admission into the school, now raised to the status of a college—the Delhi College. This was a turning point in his career.

Although, his educational career could in no way be said to have run smooth, he tried his best to make up for the deficiency. By dint of hard and intelligent work, he succeeded in winning merit scholarships, and after some time he qualified himself for the much-coveted senior scholarship of Rs. 30 a month. Indeed, it was the happiest moment

of his life. It instilled courage in him and faith gave him hope. After a further study of three years, he got over the last hurdle and became qualified to be a teacher—a teacher in the real sense of the word.

On 24th February 1844, he was appointed on Rs. 50 a month, as a teacher of Science in the Delhi College. As a teacher, reading was his chief passion. It was at this time that the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society was formed in Delhi. Prof. Ramchandrar, as usual, contributed his share of books on Algebra and Trigonometry. These were found so useful that they were prescribed as text-books in schools and colleges. He exhibited special interest in Mathematics—the outcome of his hard labour was the “Maxima and Minima.” Even in these subjects he served the Urdu language by writing them in Urdu.¹

Mathematically minded as he was, he did not neglect other equally valuable activities, one of which forms the subject of this paper.

As an Editor of a Urdu Newspaper :—

Prof. Ramchandrar started a Urdu Newspaper called *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn*, in 1845, of which he himself was the editor.² This newspaper might be called the “Illustrated Scientific-Historical Fortnightly,” because it was the only one of its kind, that tried to place before its readers scientific subjects with illustrations. Together with scientific topics historical subjects were also discussed. Under this subject he dealt with topics of Indian, Islamic, Egyptian, Syrian, Roman, Greek, and European History. With History, its allied subjects, such as Art, Archæology, Architecture were also treated.

Prof. Ramchandrar himself being a teacher of science, wrote on subjects like Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Geography, etc. These subjects were profusely illustrated with sketches, maps, diagrams, etc., but he did not neglect other subjects, such as Education, Religion, Civics and Philosophy.

This interesting scientific and historical paper was published fortnightly on Mondays from Delhi. Its monthly subscription was annas four only (it was annas two only in the first year of its publication, when an issue had only 4 pages). Later issues had 8 pages each. The subscribers had to pay a little extra for postage. This paper was published by Prof. Ramchandrar and printed in the Maṭba'-ul-'Ulūm, Delhi. Its earlier issues were published from a house situated near Moulvi Moḥammad Bāqir's residence, by Pandit Motilal, who acted as the Manager.³

The title page of the earlier issues had drawing of two hands holding a leaf. Later on, in almost all the issues, the title pages, invariably,

1. Vide, Maulvi 'Abdul Haq. “The late Delhi College,” pages 156-158.

2. Vide, J. Sajunlal's Paper, “A few newspapers of Pre-Mutiny, Delhi,” Proceedings of I.H.R.C. Vol. XIX, pages 128-132.

3. Ibid.

had pictures of historical persons, such as Shah Alam II, Haidar Ali, Maharajah Partab Sing, Mir Dost Mohammad Khān, Sher Shāh, Sher Singh, etc. Pictures of historical buildings, Indian as well as foreign, portraits of European famous scientists and well-known monarchs, philosophers and thinkers also appeared on the title pages, on each of which a leader of 3 or 4 pages written by Ramchandar became a regular feature of the paper.

When the paper entered the 6th year of its life, in 1851 Sayyid Ali Wasiti joined it as its Assistant Editor and Manager. This useful paper continued to flourish up to 1855.* In this connection we cannot help but note that neither Professor Garcin-de Tasse nor Dr. Maulvi 'Abdul Haq, the doyen of Urdu literature, is correct in fixing the year 1852, as the year when it ceased publication.

Indeed, this fortnightly was more in the nature of a literary scientific type than an ordinary newspaper. It was in 1847, when some of its readers complained to the Editor of the paucity of news that Prof. Ramchandar, in its issue of 25th January, 1847, wrote as follows:—

”ہم نے اقرار کیا تھا کہ جب پرچہ دو گنا ہو جائیگا اوس وقت سے اخیر کے صفحے میں اخبار تازہ درج کیا کریں گے۔ سو ہم اس اقرار کو پورا کرتے ہیں۔ یقین ہے جو کہ صاحب اس پرچہ کو لیتے ہیں انہیں بذریعہ اس کم قیمت پرچہ کے اخبار سے بھی اطلاع رہیگی۔ بالفعل ایسا پرچہ کوئی ہندوستان میں نہیں چھپتا ہے کہ باوجود اتنے مضامین علمی اور اخبار پسندیدہ کے ایسی کم قیمت کو آتا ہے۔ اب یہ پرچہ کامل ہو گیا ہے کہ اس میں خبریں بھی درج ہونے لگیں جو صاحب فقط اخبار کے شائق ہیں ان کے لئے بھی مفید ہوگا۔“

One of its readers, who also happened to be associated with another contemporary newspaper called “*Bean*,” passed some irrelevant remarks on one of the articles published in *Fawā'id-un-Nāziriin*. Prof. Ramchandar in his editorial, referring to the remarks, not only refuted them but ironically observed:—

”کیا خدا کی قدرت ہے کہ اتنا تو ہم اپنے اوپر نقصان اٹھا کر رفاہ عام میں کوشش کرتے ہیں۔ لیکن پھر بھی بعضے لوگ پرچہ فوائد الناظرین پر طنز کرتے ہیں اور ایک مسمی اخبار ”بین“ کے بڑے عقلمند معلوم ہوتے ہیں۔ انہوں نے ہمیں بذریعہ خط کے لکھا ہے کہ چند ہفتے سے مضامین فوائد الناظرین کے خلاف اوس اشتہار کہ جو کہ قبل از دو چند ہونے پرچہ دیا گیا تھا چھپتے ہیں ہم نے کبھی خلاف اوس اشتہار کے مضامین نہیں چھاپتے ہیں۔“

اخبار ”بین“ میں مذکور فرماتے ہیں کہ اب کی دفعہ جو دو ورقہ پرچے میں واسطے مضمون تجویز مسٹر مشکلی کے زیادہ کیا گیا۔ مضمون واہیات تھا۔ وہ کیا عقل ہے۔ وہی مثل ہے کہ گدھے کو نمک دیا جائے اوس نے جانا کہ میری آنکھیں پھوڑیں۔ چند صاحب ذی عقل کے خطوط آئے کہ اگر ایسے مضامین چھپنے لگے تو بڑا فائدہ ہوگا۔ اکثر صاحبوں سے زبانی مضامین

* The writer has had the pleasure to read the issues—nay a volume of *Fawā'id-un-Nāziriin* of 1854.

فوائد الناظرین کے خصوصاً مضمون مذکور بہت تعریف سننے میں آئی۔ بعض صاحبوں کے اور خصوصاً اخبار بین کی آنکھیں خبر نہیں کہاں جاتی ہیں کہ وہ یہ نہیں سمجھتے کہ دو آنے کے پیسوں کی کیا حیثیت ہوتی ہے کہ جسکے عوض ایسا مفید پرچہ ملتا ہے۔

As an editor, Prof. Ramchandar, with a high sense of duty, made it his strict principle, not to publish any letter, whose bona fides were doubtful. A letter casting a slur on the editor of *Ṣadr-ul-Akḥbār*, a contemporary newspaper, was not only rejected, but the writer was also taken to task and sternly warned. In another case, we find, that he returned an unstamped letter by one of its subscribers unopened. On this, the writer threatened to file a suit claiming damages against him. Prof. Ramchandar contemptuously dismissed it with a note that the writer was at perfect liberty to take any action that he deemed necessary. To tell the truth, these threats did not carry any weight, nor had they any effect on Prof. Ramchandar. This shows how scrupulously he carried out his duties without fear or favour. He was a man of sterling character, who could not be forced to do anything against his conscience.

When *Sultān-ul-Akḥbār* in its leader on the education of Muslim girls, published in its issue of No 545, remarked that there was no necessity of teaching philosophy to Muslim girls, whom, in his opinion, should be taught *ملوۃ - روزہ - وفیرہ* for which the teaching of the Qur'ān was but a necessary concomitant, Prof. Ramchandar commenting on it, writes thus:—

”اب میں مہتمم سلطان الاخبار سے سوال کرتا ہوں کہ کیا عیب اور نقصان تعلیم کرنے میں لڑکیوں کے نکلتے ہیں اور اگر وہ فرمائیں کہ شرع شریف میں پڑھانا علم فلسفہ وغیرہ کے لڑکیوں کو جائز نہیں تو یہ بات غلط ہے کہ فدوی بھی چند مسلمانوں سے ملاقات رکھتا ہے۔ استفسار سے معلوم ہوا کہ شرع شریف میں اس در باب میں کچھ نہیں لکھا ہے۔ واضح ہو کہ لڑکیوں کی تعلیم کرنے میں جو کچھ بہت فوائد اکثر نکلتے ہیں کہ جن کا ذکر ہم پرچہ گذشتہ میں لکھ چکے ہیں۔

This shows how keenly interested he was in women's education. His contributions on that subject, which appeared now and then in the issues of *Fawā'id-un-Nāzīrīn* deserve special attention. He pleaded that women's education did not mean in any way the reading of a few prescribed books, and stressed the need for teaching Domestic Science and Hygiene. What is more, he argued that the syllabus should not be the same for girls as for boys.

Prof. Ramchandar, as noted earlier, had the misfortune to come into close contact with a deaf and dumb person, no less a person than his wife, and he realised the untold hardships of such sufferers. That is why, in one of his editorials he described with keen interest the teaching methods of one of the schools of Europe for the Deaf and Dumb. He fervently pleads that such schools should be opened in India in order to impart

education to defective children. Similarly education to be imparted to blind boys forms the theme of one of his articles.

There are other topics, equally important, dealing with professional and adult education. Indeed, he was a great advocate of education. Other topics such as what is Human Destiny? the Idea of God and of Omnipotence, Discipline, Intelligence, Superstition, Ethics or Moral Education, Religion, etc. have been the subject of his discourses. In the course of our narrative, if space and time permit, we shall lightly touch on one or two such topics.

Prof. Ramchandrar had great faith in the British administrative system, then in vogue. At times he criticised it—but on the whole he was favourably impressed by it.

A letter appeared from the pen of a European, whose misapprehensions, either imaginary or real, were something like this. That the English educational and administrative systems, introduced in India, (in course of time) would mentally, morally, and administratively equip Indian to such an extent, that they (the Indians) would not only be able to defy the British Government, but would possibly drive them out of India, and make her an Independent Sovereign Power. Prof. Ramchandrar referring to this controversy then raging in the local press, wrote:—

”ملاحظہ ہو اس چٹی کے ناظرین کو صاف ظاہر ہو جائیگا کہ اہل ہند کو انگریزوں کا خیال کرنے میں اور علاوہ ازیں معلوم ہو جائیگا کہ بعض انگریزوں کی بھی یہ ہی رائے تھی اور اب بھی ہے۔ کہ اگر اہل ہند کو علوم و فنون اہل فرنگ کے سکھائے جائیں تو وہ لوگ آزاد منش اور عالی حوصلہ ہو کر انگریزی حکومت کو دور کرنا چاہیں گے اور اپنے ملک کے آپ مالک بن جائے گا ارادہ کریں گے اور اس باعث اہل ہند کو انگریزی طریقہ تربیت کرنا گویا اپنے حق میں برائی کرنی ہے کس واسطے آئندہ کو ہندوستان دعویٰ ہماری کا لریگا اور ممکن ہے سرکشی کریں گے۔“

Prof. Ramchandrar considers it to be wishful thinking and as such it should not hinder the progress of education and learning:—

”لیکن اب تک یہ بات اثبات کو نہیں پہنچی اور یقین ہے کہ آئندہ کو بھی ایسا نہیں ہوگا انسان ہزار ایسا کرے یہ غیر ممکن ہے کہ زمانہ حال میں ترقی اہل ہند کے علوم میں ہو اور اس واسطے ہمیں لازم ہے کہ واسطے تدارک خوف مذکور بالا کہ یہ نہ چاہئے کہ علوم اور فنون کے شیوع میں ہرج ڈالیں بلکہ اور تدبیر کرنی چاہئے۔“

Proceeding further he says that

”پس ان چند عالموں اور آزاد منشوں سے گورنمنٹ انگریزی کو کیا خوف ہو سکتا ہے اگر کڑوڑ غلاموں میں سے آزاد منش آدمی ہند ہوتا ہے تو ایک امر سہل نہیں۔ جو خلقت نہ مدت سے عادی غلامی کے ہے اور جنکی آوازیں اور خیالات تابع آوازوں کے ہیں اور ان کا آزاد ہونا ایک امر محال ہے۔ غرض کہ کوئی علامت ایسی نہیں پائی جاتی ہے کہ اوس سے یہ معلوم ہو کہ کسی وقت میں اہل ہند کو اولیٰ العزم اور آزاد

منش مثل اہل فرنگ کے اور اہل ہند
میں کوئی ایسے قواعد اخلاق اور انتظام اور رسوم کے نہیں پائے جاتے کہ یہاں کی خلقت بھی عالی
حوصلہ ہو۔ اکثر لوگ ہند کے کسی مطلب و مقصود کے حاصل کرنے کے واسطے استعمال دغا بازی
اور فریب کو پسند کرتے ہیں۔“۔

Therefore in view of these facts the British Government should not under any circumstances discontinue the propagation of knowledge and the sciences. He ends with these words:—

پس ہر صورت میں انگریزی حکومت کو یہ نہ چاہئے کہ ترویج علوم کے ہندوستان میں
پہلوتی کرے۔

Prof. Ramchandrar published a translation of the speech of Lord Macaulay, that appeared in *The London Times* of 20th April, 1847, to which he devoted a whole issue of *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn* No. 14, dated 26th July, 1847.

There is another leader on Patriotism. After defining and explaining what Patriotism means and what its importance is to a nation and the country, Prof. Ramchandrar has hard and bitter things to say. Untrue one would say?—but there is truth of emotion as well as of fact. Without mincing words, he is brutally frank:—

اور اس زمانے میں بھی ایسے آدمی اللہ تعالیٰ نے پیدا کئے ہیں کہ وہ دل و جان سے اپنے
ملک کی بہبودی چاہتے ہیں۔ لیکن افسوس تو یہ ہے کہ نیکی ہندوستانیوں میں نہیں پائی جاتی۔
یہاں کوئی بھی اپنے ملک کی رفاه کے واسطے ہاتھ پیر نہیں ہلاتا اور جسکو دیکھو وہ یہ کہتا
ہے کہ ہمارے کٹے کے کیا ہوتا ہے۔ من جملہ بواعث عدم وجود اس نیکی کے اہل ہند یہ ہے کہ
یہاں کے باشندے اقوام مختلفہ میں منقسم ہیں۔ کم ہمتی جو اہل ہند کا خاصہ ہے اور اسکی باعث
وہ ہمیشہ غلامی میں رہتے ہیں اور دیکھتے کب تک رہینگے۔ اونکو آزاد گورنمنٹ کا تصور
ہی نہیں۔ یہ اثر تعلیم کا ہے جو یہاں لوگ پاتے ہیں اہل ہند میں سے کسی کو بھی کبھی نہیں
دیکھا کہ وہ جب الوطنی کو کار فرما کر کے دخیل کاروبار گورنمنٹ ہو۔ اس حال میں یہاں کے باشندوں
کو بھی بہت ضرورت تحصیل علوم مختلفہ کے ہے۔ بدوں اوسکے انکی آنکھیں کبھی نہیں کھلینگی۔
مطالعہ تواریخ آزاد قوموں کا سب سے زیادہ ضروری ہے۔ کیوں کہ انکی عالی ہمتی اور حب الوطنی
کو دیکھ کر انہیں بھی عزم والے اور ایک روز داغ غلامی سے بری ہوں۔ اہل اسپارٹا کو جب ہم نے
اپنے ہم وطنوں سے مقابلہ کر کے دیکھتے ہیں تو بجز عجالت اور نچہ نہیں معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ تاریخ
سے دریافت ہوتا ہے کہ.....

That is his opening and he ends

دیکھتے ہندوستان کے کب دن پھرنگے۔

He has lucidly stated the causes for the lack of Patriotism among the Indians. Patriotism, according to him, consists in self-assertiveness. He advises the Indians to peruse the history of independent nations. He then cites the example of the people of Sparta and exhorts them to follow in their footsteps.

As an editor of the newspaper, whenever Prof. Ramchandār's advice was sought by members of his profession, he gave it unstintedly. His suggestions were respected and put into practice. When some of his colleagues sent their learned papers, he published them with thanks.¹

Among his subscribers, the following deserve to be mentioned :— Pandit Jawala Rakher Jiwarī, Muḥi-ud-dīn Ḥasan Khān Bahadur, Ḥāfiz Ṣadr-ul-Islām, R. L. E. Hamilton, Lala Jagat Narayan, Chander Ṣahib Singh, Dr. Springer, E. L. Robarts, J. Moor, Grattons, Cunningham, R. B. Smith, Qāder 'Alī, Mustaqīm Jung Bahadur, Muḥammed Ghauth, the editor of *Aftāb-'Ālm Tāb*, Wājīd 'Alī, the editor of *Zubdat-ul-Akḥbār*, etc.

As one belonging to the Fourth Estate (the activities of which have not been so far appreciated by scholars in India) Prof. Ramchandār was in close touch with the editors of the following contemporary newspapers. *The Delhi Urdu Akḥbār*,² *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*,³ *The Malwa Akḥbār*,⁴ *Akḥbār-ul-Ḥaqā'iq*,⁵ *Aftāb-'Ālm Tāb*, *Zubdat-ul-Akḥbār*, *Maṭla-ul-Akḥbār*, *Ṣadr-ul-Akḥbār*, *Sudhagar* of Benares, *Fwā'idus Shāiqīn*, *'Omdat-ul-Akḥbār*,⁶ *Sayyid-ul-Akḥbār*,⁷ *Asad-ul-Akḥbār*, *Aḥsan-ul-Akḥbār*.⁸

Prof. Ramchandār did not hesitate to give full publicity to many important works published by his own press, or for the matter of that, by any other publisher. We find advertisements appearing, now and then, in his newspaper. A few of these are :—*Badr-i-Munīr*, *Mathnavi-i-Mīr Ḥasan*, *Khairkhwa-i-Hind*, *Mohibb-i-Hind*, *Risāla-i-Mubarak*, *Persian Kalam of Ṣadr-ud-dīn*, *'Āthār-uṣ-Ṣanadīd*, *'Ajā'ib-i-Rōzgār*, etc.

(a) Read, for instance, the Article, "How to calculate dates, in A.D., from Hījri," contributed by the editor of *Ṣadr-ul-Akḥbār*, "How are seasons caused," by the editor of *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, "The Hill Station of Mussoori," by Karīm-ud-dīn, Assistant Editor of *Qiran-us-Sa'dain* or the Article on "The Law of Gravity," contributed by the Editor of *Ṣadr-ul-Akḥbār* or the article on "Character Building" by the editor of *Delhi Urdu Akḥbār*, etc.:

2. Vide, K. Sajunlal's paper, pp. cit., pp. 128-132.

3. Ibid.

4. Vide, K. Sajunlal's paper, "Indian Historical Proceedings," XV, pp. 53-56.

5. Vide, K. Sajunlal's paper, "Indian Historical Proceedings," XXII, pp. 68-69.

6. Vide, K. Sajunlal's paper, "Indian Historical Proceedings," XXIV, pp. 100-106.

7. We are appending a note on *Sayyid-ul-Akḥbār*, in order to clear some doubts, entertained by scholars. Kāfi Sahib and Margarita Barnes have not much to say on this paper. For the interest of our readers, we may add, that *Sayyid-ul-Akḥbār* started its career in 1837, when it published a six page issue. It was a weekly publication. Its subscription was Rs. 2/- a month. It utilized news-items and reports from *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, the *Delhi Urdu Akḥbār*, *Majma'-ul-Akḥbār*. Its last page was devoted to the current local topics. Litigants and clerks immensely liked it. Its editor Maulvī 'Abdul Ghafūr, was not only qualified, but also had a passion for legal phraseology. His comments and explanatory notes on the circulars issued by the court of Metcalfe, made it, undoubtedly, the hot favourite of the vakils. Besides 'Abdul Ghafūr, being a close relative of the Munsiff of Delhi commanded more popularity and respect than others.

This paper continued, till 1848. Kāfi Sahib's reading based as it was on *Sirāj-ul-Akḥbār* to the effect that it flourished in 1843; however, we may by the way add, that *Sayyid-ul-Akḥbār* was even noticed in the issues of *Fuṣūl-un-Nāzirīn* of 1848. In 1847, it increased the number of pages for each issue to 8 pages, instead of 6 pages.

Margarita Barnes seems quite incorrect to assign this paper, as the first Urdu Newspaper in India.

8. The writer possesses 2 volumes of it.

No doubt news-reporting is an art. Prof. Ramchandrar is an adept in this line for whenever he supplied his readers with items of news, he took care to give facts and figures so as to present a true picture.

The *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn* has reported on the work of the Beggar Relief Committee to its readers which we pass on to our readers for their general information.

In the year 1842, Martin Keenes collected funds in order to give relief to the poor and needy people. So a committee was formed to carry on these activities. The monthly subscriptions by the Indians was Rs. 297-14-0 to which Europeans added their quota of Rs. 142 a month. This handsome amount was utilized for the upkeep of the poor people, which numbered 240. Each one of the poor persons was given Re. 1-6-0 a month, and blankets were supplied free to them. Two Indian Hakims namely, Hakim Rafiq 'Alī, and Hakim Ghulam Najaf were in charge of the *Shafā Khāna*. As time passed this Beggar Relief Committee, with increased funds at its command, grew in importance and served useful purpose. The *Delhi Urdu Akhbār* gives further details on this topic.

Here is another item of news which by increasing our knowledge of details, enhances our delight. It gives facts and figures relating to the city of Delhi. These enlighten us with regard to the economic and social condition of the people of Delhi a hundred years ago. It is interesting to know that in Delhi, there were a dozen thanas, 500 chatter-mahals, 18,327 pukka houses, 7224 katcha houses, 9780 pukka shops, 156 katcha shops, 261 mosques, 186 temples, 196 schools. The total number of houses and shops of both categories numbered 35,556. A glance over the population figures gives us the number of Christians (male, female and children, all told) as 321. The Muslims and Hindus all numbered 66,120 and 71,530 respectively. There were 50,060 males, 51,546 females, 20,278 boys, and 16,693 girls. The population of Delhi city, including the fort, was no more than 1,37,973 (contrast this with the present day figures).

In 1846, the number of babies born was 3904 (of either sex), marriages celebrated 953, deaths recorded 4950 (males, females and children). While a year earlier, that is in 1845, the birth record showed 41,192 (of either sex), marriages celebrated were 1024, deaths 4762.

Similarly we come across census figures of Lahore for the year 1847. These too reveal interesting facts. The total number of shops and houses was 28,594. Extract of figures of the Muslim and Hindu states as taken from *Ṣadr-ul-Akhhbār*, reveals these interesting facts :—²

	State	Mohallas and Houses	Big Houses	Mosques	Total	
Muslim	363	6,121	212	9,256
Hindu	406	6,586	149	10,124
			Dharmasalas			

1. Vide, *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn*, Vol. 3, No. 15, dated 24th July, 1848.

2. Vide, *Ibid.*, No. 3 of February, 1847.

Nationality		Females	Males	Children	Total
Muslims and English	..	18,406	18,002	13,383	46,761
Hindus	..	14,625	6,658	7,404	32,062
Sikhs	..	2,113	855	484	3,450

We do not mention other details pertaining to animals, etc. :

Likewise we come across census figures of some old localities (گزرگاہ) of Lahore.¹

Name of Locality	Mohallas and Bazars	Total	Poor and Middle Class	Houses	Shops	Baitaks	Wells
Shaikh Ishāq	.. 29	1,269	103	545	503	118	50
Tallura	.. 109	2,609	253	1,862	445	49	102
Nanak Jog	.. 4	522	119	196	364	43	40
Rarra	.. 111	4,194	355	2,143	1,525	184	186
Shah Bāz Khān	.. 139	1,675	153	719	666	127	75
Bachawalay	.. 41	1,643	189	1,037	341	76	94
Mubārak Khān	.. 154	4,972	434	2,602	303	198	107
Chachavalla	.. 47	1,591	234	1,222	463	72	112
Mushkinat	.. 72	1,875	222	1,058	167	106	100

At the request of its readers that the paper should give detailed news of the Sikh War, the editor not only gave detailed items of news of the Sikh War, but also published maps and charts showing the arrangement of armies, number of soldiers that died in action, the number of soldiers wounded, etc. He also furnished a copy of the plan of the palace formerly occupied by the Maharajah Dalip Sing. Mufti Ghulām Sarver wrote the following chronogram on Maharajah Dalip Singh's bidding goodbye to Lahore :—

چشمه سان از چشم مردم آب رفت	چہین تہ پنجاب از پنجاب رفت
چون زچشم آن غیرت مہتاب رفت	عالمی در چشم مردم شد سیاہ
بلکہ از نرگس خنار خواب رفت	جملہ گس در ہجرا و خوردند گل
نوگلے از گلشن پنجاب رفت	گفت سرور از سرور و این سخن

One of the correspondents of Harkaru sought an interview with Dewan Mulraj when the latter was transported to Calcutta. It is interesting to read the conversation reproduced by this paper to which *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn* devoted two pages. Few Urdu newspapers of those days recorded any interview like the one that appeared in this paper.

Lala Mukundlal, a brilliant ex-student of Delhi Madrasa, was awarded a scholarship by the Government, for the study of Medicine. On his arrival by steamer at Calcutta on 2nd June, 1850, he sent a report of his journey, narrating his experiences, and his first impressions of his first voyage, make an interesting reading.²

1. *Vide, Ibid.*, Vol 5. No. 7, dated 15th April, 1849.

2. *Ibid.*, Issue No. 7, dated 1st April, 1850.

Before we turn our attention to other important publications of Prof. Ramchandar, we would like our readers to know his views on Religion, a little more clearly. Prof. Ramchandar says that men cannot do without religion. If one religion is abandoned surely another is adopted. These things have always existed, and, in his view, will continue to exist. Then he explains the importance of various religions or faiths. He used to say that service to humanity is no less than service to God.

Writing about the scientific advancement of the people of Europe, Prof. Ramchandar says that the spirit of man craves a friendly God. Miracles, he says, once the monopoly of the Church, will now be performed by the state, which will provide no less than a heaven on earth, here and now. For here as elsewhere, it is the right type of the people that guide the state. The Indians have yet to learn much.

Thanks to his undaunted and courageous spirit, Prof. Ramchandar had the unique distinction of publishing the first Urdu Journal in Delhi, perhaps in India.¹

Prof. Lais Ahmad mentions the fact that Prof. Ramchandar published two journals, one by the name of *Khair-Khwāh-i-Hind* and the other was called *Mohibb-i-Hind*, and according to him.

خیر خواہ ہند پہلا رسالہ ہے جو اردو زبان میں پروفیسر رام چندر نے نکالا تھا ۔ وہی اس مضمون کے لکھنے والے تھے ۔ ان کی عادت تھی کہ وہ کوئی مضمون اپنے قلم سے نہیں لکھتے تھے ۔ مگر ان کے طلباء جو عربی کی اول جماعت کے تھے وہ لکھتے جاتے تھے اسکو لکھتے جاتے اس رسالہ میں اکثر مضامین ان کے اسی طرح لکھوائے ہوتے تھے ۔ پر یہی پروفیسر رام چندر اور ایک رسالہ محبوب ہند کے نام سے نکالا کرتے تھے ۔ گارسان دتاسی نے اپنے مقالات میں اسکا نام اسی غلط فہمی کی وجہ سے محبوب ہند لکھ دیا ۔²

It is unfortunate that there seems to be the impression that Prof. Ramchandar was the author of two different journals, both of which were published at one and the same time. This impression, as it is misleading, deserves our immediate attention.

To our knowledge, very few scholars seem to know much about this valuable journal—the first of its kind. Scantily known, neglected, and ignored, as it appears to us, it deserves our notice all the more. Prof. Ramchandar as its editor has done much for the spread of

1. Vide, Abul Lais Siddiqi "The Urdu Press in the 19th Century" Booklet, pp. 2 and 3, published by the Majlis-Muṣannafin, Aligarh.

2. Referring to this journal Garcin-de-Tassy says:

یہ پروفیسر یعنی (رام چندر داس) دو سو رسالوں کے ایڈیٹر بھی ہیں ان میں سے ایک خاص طور پر قابل ذکر ہے جس کا نام محبوب ہند ہے یہ ایک ماہانہ پرچہ جس میں اہم معاملات و مسائل وقت پر اہل ہند کی تعلیمی حالت اور عام ادب یعنی ہندوستانی زبان کی ترقی پر مضامین لکھے جاتے ہیں۔

This statement, perhaps requires correction. In the first place the editor's name is Ramchandar and not Ramchandar Dass, as stated by Garcin-de-Tassy. Secondly the name of the journal referred to above is *Mohibb-i-Hind* and not *Mahbūb-i-Hind*.

knowledge in particular, and service to Urdu language in general. Indeed all the Urdu-knowing public should feel grateful to him. That is why we propose to do some justice at least to this first Urdu Journal, which hitherto, for no fault of its own has remained unnoticed.

In the issue of *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn* dated 19th August, 1847, of which Prof. Ramchandrar was the editor we find there appears an advertisement to this effect: "For the information of the enlightened readers, the editor has the pleasure to inform that he would shortly bring out an Urdu Journal called the *Khair Khwah-i-Hind*, every month.

The issue No. 17, dated 16th September, 1847, announces the publication of *Khair Khwah-i-Hind*, this announcement is interesting as it lays down the aims and objects of the journal. And this being so we quote it in full, for the benefit of our readers:—

سابق میں ہم نے جو لکھا تھا کہ ایک رسالہ مسمیٰ خیر خواہ ہند ہر ماہ میں ایک بار بربان اردو اس عاصی کے اہتمام سے عنقریب میں اجرا ہوگا۔ اب وہ بہ عنایت ایزدی سے بتاریخ اول ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۴۷ع کو جاری ہو گیا۔ اہل دانش نے اس کی بڑی قدر کی۔ انشاء اللہ اوسمیں مضامین مدام ایسے چھپینگے کہ جو خلقت ہند کو مفید ہونگے اور تواریخ ہر دیار کی مثل ہندوستان۔ فرنگستان۔ ایران۔ افغانستان وغیرہ کے اور مضمون پندو نصائح درج ہونگے۔ اور باتیں علم اخلاق اور علم طبعی اور علم ہئیت کی مفصل بیان کی جائیں گی تا کہ ہر ایک شخص کے فہمید میں آسکیں۔ اور حال پارلیمنٹ کا اور تجویزیں اور صلاحیں حکام انگلستان کی۔ اور عجیب وغریب حالات اور اشعار آبدار بڑے بڑے استادوں کے حتی المقدور معہ تصویرات انکی لکھی جائیں گی اس رسالہ میں تصویرات بادشاہوں کے۔ اور نقشہ جات مکانات وغیرہ کے جہاں نہیں جیسی تصویر ضرور ہونگی مندرج ہوسکے۔ صفحہ اس رسالہ کے پچاس ہوتے ہیں اور قیمت اسکی ایک روپیہ ماہواری یعنی فی جلد ایک روپیہ۔

صاحبان علم و دولت پر واضح ہو کہ یہ رسالہ مثل اور پرچہ اخبارات کے نہ ہوگا کہ بعد دیکھنے کے وہ لچھ کام کا نہیں رہتا ہے بلکہ یہ ایک مثل نایاب کتاب کے رہیگا۔

A perusal of a number of volumes convinces us beyond a shadow of doubt that the editor in keeping with his dignity nobly upheld its aims and kept up its high standard as promised.

At the close of this advertisement, mention is made of the contents of the first volume. They read thus:—

”بتاریخ اول ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۴۷ عیسوی کو جو اول جلد رسالہ خیر خواہ ہند کی جاری ہوئی ہے۔ اوس مضامین واسطے آگاہی ناظرین کے حوالہ قلم کرنا مخفی نہ رہے۔ کہ اول مضمون اوسمیں شہر دہلی کا معہ نقشہ دہلی کے ہے۔ دوم مضمون باعث کم شیوع ہونے علوم مفید کا ہندوستان میں درج رسالہ ہوا ہے۔ سوم مضمون ولایت تواریخ سرندیب یعنی لنکا کے مندرج ہے۔ چہارم تذکرہ بادشاہ ایران کا معہ تصویر مذکور کے درج کیا ہے۔ پنجم حال مشاعرہ کا معہ تصویر مجلس مشاعرہ کے لکھا گیا ہے۔ ششم حال حضرت ابوظفر سراج الدین محمد بہادر بادشاہ غازی دہلی معہ تصویر حضرت کے اور چند ایسے مضامین مدام مختلف علوم مفیدہ کے درج ہوا کریں گے۔“

But a month later, the name of the Journal changed to *Mohibb-i-Hind* as in Mirzapur. there was another newspaper of that name. This announcement appeared in one of the issues of October, 1847. It states :—

”تبدیلی نام رسالہ خیر خواہ ہند کے چونکہ ہم کو اس سے بالکل اطلاع نہ تھی کہ کوئی اخبار خیر خواہ ہند ہندوستان میں اجرا ہوتا ہے تو اس واسطے ہم نے اپنے رسالہ کا نام خیر خواہ ہند رکھا تھا۔ اب ہم کو معلوم ہوا کہ اخبار رسمی خیر خواہ ہند مرزا پور میں جاری ہوتا ہے۔ تو ہم کو مناسب نہیں کہ ہم اپنے رسالہ کا نام بھی خیر خواہ ہند رکھیں۔ اس واسطے ہم نے اس رسالہ کا نام تبدیل کیا اور بجائے خیر خواہ ہند کے محب ہند رکھا۔“

This gives us an idea of the integrity and honesty of the editor for no sooner did he come to know the fact that there was a newspaper of the name of *Khair Khwāh-i-Hind* than he immediately changed the name.

So we find that there was, after all, one Urdu Journal, which went by the name of *Khair Khwāh-i-Hind* for the first month, i.e., September, to be changed into *Mohibb-i-Hind*, in the second month of its issue, viz., October, 1847.

This journal attracted the attention of the public, and in a short time, it became popular. It was not only patronised by the nobles of Delhi, but the Europeans took great interest in it. In the list of subscribers published now and then, we find the following mentioned as subscribers :

(1) Ghulām Ghauth Khān, the editor of *Aftāb ‘Ālam Tāb*, (2) Hāfiz Sadr-ul-Islam, (3) Mīr Munshi Shahmat ‘Alī, Mīr Munshi, Indore Residency, (4) The Editor of *Sadr-ul-Akḥbār*, (5) Pandit Kedarnath, (6) Pandit Jwala Pershad, (7) Dr. Springer, Principal, Delhi College, (8) E. Roberts, Magistrate, Delhi, (9) Mr. Gibbons, Judge, Delhi, (10) J. Moor, (11) E. Fraser, (12) Wakefield, (13) G. Ludlow, (14) Pandit Jewar Rakhen Tewari, (15) Nawab ‘Arab Jung, (16) Mohiuddin Husain Khān, (17) Munshi Shaiḥ Qadīm ‘Alī, (18) The Editor of *Maṭla‘-ul-Akḥbār*, (19) Maulvi Mohāmmad Bāqir Husain, (20) Maulvi Dia-ud-din Rais in Delhi, (21) Mufti Sadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr and a host of others.

The journal appeared regularly every month. But once in 1847, when the editor fell ill, its publication was delayed. Similarly, in 1848 when Prof. Ramchandar while riding his horse met with a serious accident, and was laid up in bed for a month, there was some delay in its publication. He tendered an apology to its readers and subscribers for the inconvenience caused by the late publication, stating the reason.

Many articles that appeared in the paper are no doubt translations from English and Persian books of history, geography, etc., which the editor openly acknowledged in its issues. Among original contributions mention should be made of Prof. Ramchandar to whose credit stands a long list of such articles. He has utilised material published by the Vernacular Translation Society to which he himself had also contributed.

Articles on the History of Sind were contributed by Shahmat ‘Alī, who translated in Urdu Dr. Springer’s Persian Sind History, while Munshi Aḥraf ‘Alī Wāsiti, the Assistant Editor of *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirin*

contributed a paper on Kashmir. The contributions from the Editor of *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, *Delhi Urdu Akhbār*, *Akhbar-ul-Haqā'iq*, were gratefully published and acknowledged.

We shall now give our readers an idea of the contents of these volumes. As the first volume has already been noticed, we proceed with the second volume of October. Its contents were :—

(1) The History of Oudh with portrait pictures of the Nawab Shuja'-ud-Daulah and Āṣaf-ud-Daulah.

(2) Training of Indians.

(3) Articles on Sadhus—their way of living, etc.

(4) Astronomy—Planets—illustrated with sketches, etc.

(5) Qaṣida of Dhauq.

We have carefully perused the volumes of 1848 of *Mohibb-i-Hind*; we find that the title and the contents appear both in English and Urdu. The title reads "Mohibb-i-Hind" or the "Monthly Urdu Magazine" by Ramchandrar, Teacher of Science, in the Delhi College.

We will quote one more issue for the interest of our readers.

On the title page, one finds the name of the current month, the month of publication of *Mohibb-i-Hind*, volume No. and year. Below it is mentioned the price of the journal; Re. 1/- a month—postage charges to be paid by the subscribers.

Then follows the contents in English and Urdu. The details of the contents, for instance of volume 5, December issue of 1848, are :—

(1) The History of Bengal.

(2) Eclipses and their direction.

The first article on the History of Bengal takes up 49 pages and is divided into the following sub-headings:

Nawab S'rāj-ud-Daulah; Nawab Mir Ja'far; Lord Clive; Vereleest; Cartier; Warren Hastings; Cornwallis; Sir John Shore; Wellesley; Cornwallis; George Barlow; Minto; Marquis of Hastings; and Bentinck, with illustrations.

It is interesting to note that many of the articles of interest published in *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn* appear in *Mohibb-i-Hind* with similar illustrations.

Before we close this paper, we shall give a list of the contents of some of its volumes read by us for the interest of our readers. These volumes contain 50; 55; 51; 49 and 51 pages respectively :—

Volume 6 of 1848 deals with:

(1) The History of the Mughal Dynasty.

(2) Ice, Snow, Rain and Clouds.

(3) Divisibility of Matter.

(4) Diving Bell.

(5) Some Urdu Poetry ('Ustād Ḥakīm Mo'min).

Volume 7 deals with:

(1) The History of the Mughal Dynasty from Shāh Ālam to the present time. (That is up to the time of writing).

(2) Natural History of Vertebrate or Backbone Animals.

(3) Some Urdu Poetry.

Volume 8 deals with :

- (1) Natural History of Animals.
- (2) System of Moral Philosophy.
- (3) The Life of Demosthenes.
- (4) The History of Bundi.

Volume 9 deals with :

- (1) The History of the Raja of Bundi.
- (2) The Life of Julius Cæsar.
- (3) Dreaming (Dreams).
- (4) The Life of Sir Isaac Newton.
- (5) Life of Confucius.
- (6) Railways.

Volume 10 deals with :

- (1) The History of England.
- (2) The History of Kotah.
- (3) Vernacular Education.

Volume 11 deals with :

- (1) The History of England.
- (2) The Life of Cicero.
- (3) Edward I of England.
- (4) The City of Kotha and Map.

Volume 12 deals with :

- (1) The History of England.
- (2) The Journey to Himalayas.
- (3) Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth.

Volume 13 deals with :

- (1) The History of England—Charles I.
- (2) The History of Jaipur.
- (3) Wisdom and Human Body.
- (4) Miscellaneous.

The contents of Volumes 33 and 34 of 1850 are noted here.

Volume 33 deals with :

- (1) The History of the City of Gaur—otherwise known as Janatabad, the former capital of Bengal, with maps and illustrations.
- (2) Evil Spirits.
- (3) The History of Sind (From the translation of Mir Shahmat 'Ali)

Volume 34 deals with :

- (1) The History of Damascus and Life of its People.
- (2) The History of Egypt.
- (3) Evil Spirits.

Almost all the above-mentioned articles are fully illustrated. It is possible that we might be able to unearth some more volumes of this journal.

We have noticed that some of its articles are very interesting and they add to our knowledge. For example, the article on Delhi gives us an

idea of the social and economic life of the people of Delhi. Some articles are amusing, while others dealing with scientific topics, seem to us to have been written to dispel wrong notions from the minds of the public. An article on Asbestos describes what it is and explains how it is fire-proof. Articles on various aspects of education are useful to its readers. Articles dealing with the History of England or the History of Bengal appeared in instalments and continued for some time. Advertisements pertaining to the publication of interesting books also appear.

The *Mohibb-i-Hind* continued its useful service up to 1852, for we find the issues of *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn* of 1851, make frequent references to it. But from 1852 onwards nothing is mentioned about it. Therefore we presume that it stopped publication.

Devoted to his art, scorning the censure of the public (when he became a Christian) and striving with all his might to do the right according to his light, we may add that he stands alone as a unique example of new ideas struggling against the old.

There is much more to be written on the work of Prof. Ramchandrar. However, we have taken one aspect of his life, as an Urdu Journalist. We feel, we have said enough in this note to justify his claim to a niche in the temple of fame as any of the proudest who have claimed that honour.

K. SAJUN LAL.

SOME UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN THE IMPERIAL
RECORD DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HAVING A BEARING ON ANGLO-NIZAM RELATIONS

Secret Progs. 1775, 24th April
No. 3.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs,

HEREWITH we have the Honor of enclosing to you translates of two Letters the one from Nizam Ally Cawn and the other from his Minister Ruccun Ud Dowlah both containing a requisition of Assistance of Troops to be sent into the Deccan. By the Treaty with the Soubah concluded 1768—Copy of which was transmitted to your Presidency. This Government engaged to assist the Nizam with two Battalions of Sepoys & 6 pieces of Artillery manned by Europeans whenever he should require it and the situation of our Affairs should admit of our sending such an Armament into the Deccan. Copy of our Letter to the Soubah and Ruccun Ud Dolwah wait for you herewith.

The Soubah in his above mentioned Letter desires us to recommend to your Honor &ca. to take possession of the Province of Cuttack. It is possible in case his requisition be complied with that he might also be prevailed upon to put the country in possession of the Guntoor Circar & to grant a remission of the Peishcash amounting to five Lacks of Rupees annually. And it may be observed that if we refuse to comply with the acquisition he may be induced to seek the assistance of the French. The objections which occur to the Measures are that the distance of the country where the Troops are required to act is very great, that our Forces have been weakened by the Assistance sent to the Gentlemen on the Malabar coast, that the season of the year is quite unfavourable to Military Operations to which may be added the uncertainty we are in with regard to the designs of the Presidency of Bombay and of the connection between Raganaut Row and Moudhajee Bhonsalah and that the Soubah has specified that the payment of the Troops must be defrayed out of the growing Peishcash none of which will become due before the end of October next, of course the advances must be made by the Company and the Peishcash's would be very unequal to the Disbursements which would accrue. And we are moreover of opinion that if it were thought advisable to send a Body of Troops at any time to the assistance

of the Soubah, we ought not to limit the Number to the express terms of the Treaty but that such a Force should be sent as might not only ensure success in any Operations they might undertake and thereby prevent any disgrace to the English arms and might also be able to make their way good and by no Means be subject to the controul of any country, power which must be the case if only the Detachment stipulated in the Treaty were to be employed.

We have thought it incumbent on us thus to give your Honour &ca. our Sentiments in consequence of the Soubah's Application.

Accompanying is a Letter addressed to the Governor-General from the Nabob which he has requested us to forward to him.

We are &cs.,
A. WYNCH &CA.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
3rd April 1775.

No. 4.

*Translation of a Letter from the Nizam Ally Khawn received
25th March 1775.*

COPY.

At the time when I sent Rukken Ud Dowlah to Madras and a Treaty was concluded between me and the English Company it was stipulated that if it should become necessary and I should desire it Two hundred Europeans and two thousand Sepoys with ten* pieces of Cannon should be sent by the Company to join my standard and that I should defray their expenses.

Last year Ragonaut Row after Nairayen Row was killed by the persuasion of Mawdhooje Bhonsaloh broke out in enmity (sic) and Disturbance but by the Influence of Heaven he received his due reward and fled beyond the Narbedah. Again in the present year an amicable Negotiation was begun between him and Maudheverow Nariayen Pundit Pridhan, the son of the late Nariayen Row but did not succeed of course. I again marched in pursuit of him and he fled a second time across the Narbedah. Now as the above-mentioned Bhonsalah has been the source of all these Disorders his Expulsion from the Provinces of Nagpoor Taundah &ca. is a Measure of the utmost Importance and the benefits that are likely to accrue from it to the English Company also deserve consideration more particularly with a view to the plundering and desolating of countries which is the constant practise of the Marattas. By the favour of Heaven I have at present near thirty five thousand Horse in my Camp and Maudhojee Bhonsalah cannot move to the side of

* Six? cf. art. 6, p. 30 of Aitchison, vol. x.

Orissa and Bengall. You will therefore be pleased to write the Governor General Mr. Hastings that the late Possession of Cuttack which lies between Chicacole and Bengall and of which the Company have not yet had possession I must desire too, that agreeable to the Tenor of the Treaty you will send me two hundred Europeans, two thousand Sepoys and ten* pieces of Cannon and deduct the Expences of those Troops from the annual Income of the Circar arising from the Circars of Rajamundry &ca. and that you will send directions to the commander of the Forces that are at Ellore to join me with the said Armament by the way of Comham as soon as may be.

What shall I write more ?

A true copy.

R. SULLIVAN,
Secry.

No. 5.

*Translation of a letter from Rukken Ud Dowlah, received the
24th March 1775.*

The Nizam my Master's Letter to you and the Nabob Waulaw Jah Behauder will explain to you the situation of Maudhojee Bhoslah and his Highness's Resolution of rooting him out, a Measure that seems to promise much Advantage to the English Company. It will be proper therefore that agreeable to his Highness' desire and the Articles entered into the Treaty you send the Body of English Troops with the Artillery as therein mentioned by way of Comham as speedily as may be to the Presence and their Maintainances shall be accounted for out of the Income of the Sircar. You and the Nabob Waulaw Jah will be pleased to write to Ammaud Ud Dowlah Irraudit Jung. Mr. Hastings the Governor General of Bengall &c. to take possession of Cuttack which lies between Bengal and Chicacole and has not been brought under the Company's Government ; please God the Bhonsalah will receive a proper chastisement from his Highness and the Soubahdurry of Berrar undergo the necessary Regulations. As to his Highness's request of the Body of English Troops it arises merely from the confidence he has in the Company's Sincerity of Attachment and Ingenuity of intention towards him and you will no doubt pay to it all that attention which it merits as such a conduct is truly admirable among Friends and produces the best Effects in increasing the Prosperity of their Affairs.

What shall I write more ?

Copies of the Nizam and Rukum Ud Dowlah's Letters to the Nabob having been sent to the President have been examined and found to tally so exactly as to admit of no other Translation.

A true copy.

R. T. SULLIVAN,
Secretary.

* Six ? (Art. 6 on p. 30 of Aitchison, vol. ix).

No. 6.

Translation of a Letter to Nizam Ally Khan.

I have been honored by the receipt of your Highness's Letter wherein you desire, agreeable to the Tenor of the Treaty entered into with your Highness in 1768, that a detachment of two hundred Europeans and two Battalions of Sepoys together with ten pieces of Cannon may be sent to join your Highness's Standard by the way of Comham and in return for which your Highness is pleased to desire that the Governor-General Mr. Hasting's may be informed that it is your inclination that he takes possession of Cuttack. And your Highness is further pleased to acquaint me that the Expences of those troops which you require shall be deducted out of the annual income of the Circar from the Circars of Rajah-mundry &c. From the zealous attention which the English have paid to the treaty entered into with your Highness in 1768 and from the constant declarations which they have made of being at all times actuated by the strongest ties of friendship and regard towards your Highness's Person and Government your Highness must be convinced that nothing could yield me greater satisfaction than the having it in my power to afford you every assistance which you might think proper to require of me. From the Regulations which have lately taken place with respect to the English Government in India your Highness will be pleased to observe that no Military operations can be undertaken on this Coast without the concurrence of the Governor-General and Council at Bengal. To them therefore I must refer the consideration of your Highness's present demand.

A true copy.

R. SULLIVAN,
Secy.

No. 7.

Copy of a Translation of a Letter to Ruccun ud Dowlah, dated the April 1775.

I had the pleasure of receiving yours and observe the contents particularly with regard to what you write in respect of sending a Body of English Troops agreeable to the Tenor of the Treaty. You well know that in our Observation of the said Treaty and in a discovery of a steadiness of Attachment and Friendship on every occasion, We have not been at all Defective, in this view you may form an Idea of the great desire I have of affording the required assistance as however you will observe that by the regulations which of late have been established from home respecting the English Government in Hindoostan, We cannot

enter upon any Military Operations on this Coast without the consent of the Governor-General and Council at Bengall. It was therefore necessary to consult them on this occasion and accordingly his Highness's Letter and yours have been forwarded to them. When I am made acquainted with their Resolution I will give you Notice thereof. I have sent an Arzdasht to his Highness fully expressive of the above particulars.

A true copy.
 Sd./— R. SULLIVAN,
 Secy.

Agreed that the subject of the papers be for consideration until the next Council.

Received two Letters as follows from Mr. Briston's Resident at the Court ? of Owde.

Sec. Progs. 1775, 3rd July.

No. 8.

FROM THE NABOB,

Dated the 8th June 1775.

Received Do do

Two Packets having arrived from Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah, one directed to me and the other for you. I now send you your packet enclosed together with a Copy of the Nizam's letter to me as well as of one from Vikaur ud Dowlah better known by the name of Nazeeb Yar Cawn, both of which you will peruse, What shall I say more.

FROM NIZAM UD DOWLAH TO THE NABOB.

RECEIVED AT THE DURBAR.

The 8th June 1775.

It is long since I had the pleasure of hearing from you. Friendship and sincere affection require that you continually acquaint me with the state of your affairs.

I wrote you sometime ago of what concerned Mawdhoojee Bhonsalah and of the arrival of our triumphant armament in the Province of Berar, of recent contingencies I have just to tell you, what the said chief finding in himself no capacity of Resistance, applied himself to the obtaining of a Peace via mediation of his Vackeels offering, in terms of humiliations entreating solicitude, to pay an Annual Paskush to evacuate the forts of Amair, Dauoorah, Bhaup and other places on this side of the river Verdah, to bind himself by an engagement of general subjection and to give his own son as an hostage. Accordingly on the 5th of May he was presented to me and now attends my stirrup.

This affair concluded we undertook the expulsion of Ishmaul Cawn from Elichpoor previously admonishing him by wholesome instruction and salutary advice. But fate having determined the period of his death he turned a deaf ear to Council, came forth out of the Fort and practised the most absolute temerity. A small movement of our army whose numerous bands resemble the waves of an Ocean of Victory was the destruction of him and a multitude of his followers he was straight beheaded but his sons have implored forgiveness and the City and Province have undergone the proper regulations.

In view to your Good wishes and attachment I acquaint you with these particulars and I have written to the Governor of Madras.

The death of Ruccun ud-Dowlah which happened on the 27th of April last you must have had an account of from your Vackeel.

Sect. Progs. 1775, 3rd July.

No. 9.

COPY OF THE LETTER TO THE NIZAM

Dated 13th June 1775.

I have had the Honor to receive Your Highness's Letter acquainting me of the success of your Victorious Arms, in the Province of Berar, and of the prudent Conduct of Mawdhoojee Bhonsalah in at length submitting himself, to Your Highness' clemency and Mercy ; and I present you with my best congratulations on the Occasion.

In the Letter Your Highness did me the Honor of writing me, and which I received the 25th March, Your Highness is pleased to advance as a principal Reason for demanding the Aid of the English Forces, that the active Conduct of Mawdhohjee Bhonsalah, on the side of those disaffected to Your Highness's Government, required not only a severe Check, but that he should even be expelled from the Provinces of Nagpoor Jundah &ca.—On this Account it was, that Your Highness required the Assistance of the English Troops ; and I in consequence thereof wrote to the Governor-General & Council at Bengal without whose concurrence I am not authorized to undertake any Military Operations. By the Favor of Heaven, however, Mawdhojee Bhonsalah's late well advised Conduct, hath warded off the Punishment Your Highness meant to inflict on him ; the which together with Your Highness' great success in the Berar Province and on the Overthrow of Ishmaul Cawn a circumstance of so fortunate a nature, that none other are now required than the soldiers of Your Highness' victorious Army, to keep Your Highness' Dominion in Peace and Quietness, and to awe the Temerity of your Enemies.

What can I say more.

A true copy.
Sd./— R. SULLIVAN,
Secy.

25th September 1775.

No. 5.

Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee of the Presidency of Fort Saint George in Answer to one from Sir Edward Hughes of the 16th March 1775.

SELECT COMMITTEE

To

SIR EDWARD HUGHES,

Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships in India,

SIR,

We have thus long delayed replying to your favor of the 16th March in order that We might be enabled to give you the most particular information respecting the French Force in India, and for which end our utmost Endeavours have been exerted.

By the last accounts from Pondicherry we learn that their Force consists there of about 700 European Infantry, 150 Artillery, 90 Commissioned Officers of different Ranks, 50 Coffries, 50 Lascars, 400 Seapoys, and 50 Peons. That at Karical they have 50 Europeans, 50 Seapoys and 30 Peons.

Bazalat Jung, the Brother to the Soubah, who at présent possesses the Circar of Guntoor or Mustafanagar has for a considerable time past had a number of Europeans, mostly French in his service. By the latest and best accounts we have been able to obtain his present Force consist of 150 European Topasses, and 1,200 Seapoys. Of these 69 European Infantry have lately joined him. He has also lately by means of the French received a considerable supply of Military Stores, viz.,

195 Chests of Gun Powder.

127 Chests of Flints.

377 Chest of Fire Arms.

50 Bags of shot.

3,000 Cannon shot.

14 Small Guns.

Altho' we believe he has no views to the detriment of the Company, yet we cannot be too watchful of his Motions considering the Number of French he has in his service.

We have the Honor to be with Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient,
Humble Servants,

(Signed) AR. WYNCH.
JOSEPH SMITH.
GEO : DAWSON.
J. M. STONE.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
19th June 1775.

(Signed) JAMES COPPER,
Asst. Secry.

No. 4. Sect. Progs. 1775, 11th Decr

To

THE HON'BLE ALEXANDER WYNCH, ESQR.,

President and Governor &ca. Council of Fort St. George.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I have intelligence by Peons in Thirteen Days from Ballori and eleven from Adoni that the Beseiged in Bellari have accommodated matters with Basalut Jung on conditions of paying him 60,000 Rupees of which 40,000 has been actually received and that the Camp with Monsieur Sally &ca. still continues there, waiting the remaining 20,000, which it was expected would be paid in a few days when Monsieur Sally was to March for Adoni.

These Peons say that a Harcarrah from the Nizam, arrived at Adoni some days before they left it: and that it was currently reported there. He had brought Instructions from Basalut Jung to prepare himself immediately for moving towards the Carnatic, and that the same Harcarrah was charged with Orders, from the Nizam to the Nabob's of Cuddapa and Carnoul, to Sevannore and Mora Row of Goutti to get all their Forces in readiness to join Basalut Jung and to enter the Carnatic with him—That the arrival of this Harcarrah had occasioned, an uncommon stir and Bustle at Adoni: and that a number of Messengers had been dispatched to different places in consequence of it.

I have the honor &ca.

Sd. ALEXR. DUNCAN.

ONGOLE,
4th Novr. 1775.

A true copy.
R. S. SULLIVAN,
Secy.

To

THE HON'BLE ALEXR. WYNCH, ESQR.,

President and Governor of Fort George.

HON'BLE SIR,

I have this Day received intelligence of the arrival of a party of Troops at the Fort of Condavir, from Bazalet Jung's Army: and information, that the Zemindars of the Guntoor Circar at call ordered to assemble without delay at Condavir, and there to wait the arrival of Bazalet Jung.

As these accounts have been sent to me by a Zemindar of that Circar and as he has applied to me for instructions, whether to obey the Summons

which he has received and whether to pay a considerable sum of money, in advance of the new years Jummabundy, which has been required from him, as well as the other Zemindars by Bazulet Jung, I think it my duty to request your speedy instructions upon this occasion.

The Zemindar, who has applied to me is of consideration in the Guntoor, Circar and I have great reason to think, that whatever line he may take will be followed by the others ; more especially as Vassareddy Rammanot the principal amongst them, (Sic.) with respect to extent of Country has a considerable district in the Mustaphanagur Circar : and as another Zemindar will be very much influenced in his conduct by a Soucar here, to whom he is nearly allied and who is attached to the Company.

It has been (Sic.) suggested to me by a person often employed from the Soubah's Court that the Soubah would be well pleased to hear the Company had taken possession of the Guntoor Circar as that would give him the argument with his Brother of acting under Necessity and submit to you whether the orders which have been sent to the Zemindars by Bazalet Jung and the arrival of the Troops at Condavir, do not furnish sufficient ground for such a measure, and whether it would not be thoroughly justified by your continuing when in possession, to offer the same terms, to the Soubah, which have been already proposed to him : more especially as the payment of the October Kist, which has been this day made upon his receipts, must be a proof to him of the Company's favorable disposition towards him.

While the Circar has no other protection than from the few Troops now in it and the affections of the Zemindars to Bazalet Jung, there can be no doubt, but that the party at Ongola, could take possession of it, with scarcely the appearance of opposition : and the near approach of the Harvest, which will be gathered in the course of next Month, would make this particularly advantageous to the Company : whereas, if it be deferred any time, a part of the Revenue will necessarily be collected as has been usual in advance : probably the taking possession will be rendered difficult, and an alarm be given to those Zemindars of the Mustaphanagar Circar, whose Countries lie opposite to that of Guntoor, and the collection of our Revenue from them, be thereby rendered precarious.

I am with respect &ca.,

Sd. JOHN WHITEHILL.

To

THE HON'BLE ALEXANDER WYNCH, ESQR.,

President and Governor &ca. Council Fort St. George.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Having regularly advised the President of the Desertions from Ellore as they happened and having forwarded to him the Proceedings of the General Court Martial held upon them, I will not intrude upon your time with a particular account of them, The members that have gone off, will sufficiently show your Honor &ca., how greatly this spirit has prevailed: and I hope excuse my taking the liberty of proposing that some effectual means may be taken to prevent this Evil from spreading farther. When Captain Marcele marched a Detachment from Ellore to the Carnatic in May last, he lost thirty men; who were received by Bon Enfant in the Guntoor Circar, and sent by him to Adoni. The representation which was made by the late President upon the occasion to Bazalut Jung, strongly pointed out the Injury which the Company sustained in the loss of so many of their Men: and expressed his expectation that Bazalut Jung would discourage such a practice in future, and assist the Company in recovering from Bon Enfant, those Men whom he had taken into his service. The Instances now before us too plainly shew the little effect. This representation had upon him and leave us little room to hope that a second application of the same kind would be more regarded: indeed, if I may be allowed to declare my opinion I must say I think the conduct of Bazalut Jung in supporting in his service and loading with Honors and power a Frenchman, and by entrusting him with the Collection of the Revenues and Management of a Country, which he owes in a great measure to the Bounty of the Company and this in Contempt of their remonstrances and friendly applications, indicates a mind so little favorable to the Company that it may reasonably be apprehended, He would not lose a good opportunity of joining with their Enemies. His Intrigues with Hydre Ally in 1767 shew, that this is not an Idle apprehension; and with his late Conduct is in my Judgement sufficient ground to put us on our Guard. I am induced therefore to propose to your consideration the sending a Person to the Soubah to remonstrate to him upon the Conduct of Bazalet Jung. For as our Connection with the latter proceeds entirely from his affinity to the Soubah, and as there is an article in the Treaty expressly providing for the delivery of disobedient and refractory servants of whatever Rank, and more especially, as the Soubah insisted very strongly upon this article when Asheverow, who was driven out of his Zemindary in the Cammaniet Circar by Fazel Beg and took shelter in the Districts, and lastly as we faithfully observed this article, by obliging Asheverow to

remove to some other Country, I think for all these reasons we have just cause to remonstrate to the Soubah : and to desire his assistance in recovering the Deserters, and for preventing the continuance of this practice. If he should in consequence of this, insist upon Bazalet Jung's obliging Bon Enfant, to deliver up our people in his service, it will effectually discourage others from Deserting : and by reducing that Partizans' Numbers, considerably lessen his Influence in the Country. On the other hand if the Soubah should disregard our complaints or evade the performance of his Engagements in this article of the Treaty, your Honor &ca. may think the opportunity favorable for taking measures to have Bon Enfant removed from the Guntoor Circar, in which if he is suffered to remain unrestrained, he cannot fail to establish a powerful Influence, and in Case of a French War, or of our Troops being engaged in any distant part of the Country at the Time of Bazalet Jung's Death, be enabled to dispute for a Time the possession of that Circar with the Company. I submit these considerations to Your better Judgement and am respectfully

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs &ca.,
Sd. HENRY BROOKE.

MASULIPATAM,
14th March 1773.

Sect. Prog . 11th December 1775.

To

THE HON'BLE ALEXANDER WYNCH, ESQR.,
President and Governor of Fort St. George.

HON'BLE SIR,

I have the honor to transmit you with this a Letter received this day from the Soubah addressed to you. It came by express Tapplies : and altho' I have no Letter, as has been usual with such addresses, yet I am given to understand it is an answer to your Letter upon the subject of the Guntoor Circar.

Fazel Beg Cawn having applied to me for a Cowle or safe Conduct for his Brother Allyas Beg Cawn and his Family to come here to celebrate the Marriages proposed to be made with the Family of Hussan Ally Cawn, I have granted one in compliance with his desire, and hope my having done so will meet with your approbation.

I am with respect &ca.,
Signed/ JOHN WHITEHILL.

MASULIPATAM,
12th November 1775.

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN.

ORIGIN OF COURTLY LOVE AND THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNICATION

IN his admirable work *The Allegory of Love*, Mr. C. S. Lewis, writes. "Everyone has heard of courtly love and everyone knows that it appears quite suddenly at the end of the eleventh century in Languedoc."¹ He, then proceeds to investigate the mystery of its origin. He agrees with Wechssler² that the tradition is 'a feudalisation of love.' This view does not help us very much for there was feudalism in other parts of Europe as well. Why, then, did this particular tradition appear first in Provence, and spread to other parts of Europe from there afterwards? On the other hand, if we have to agree with Henri Pirenne, Provence had remained cut off from European culture for several centuries,³ before the appearance of the tradition there.

Then Mr. Lewis examines most of the theories of origin rather briefly and dismisses them one by one. Neither the theory of the cult of the Blessed Virgin, nor the theory of Germanic origin proves satisfactory in the least. Here one is inclined to agree with him. Indeed great is the gulf that separates Wealhew⁴ from Marie of Champagne. But there are other theories Mr. Lewis dismisses even without an argument against them: "Celtic, Byzantine, and even Arabic influence have been suspected; but it has not been made clear that these, if, granted, could account for the results we see."⁵

Finally, Mr. Lewis accepts the current theory that the tradition was a direct result of contemporary feudal conditions. He agrees with Faureil⁶

1. C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, 1938, p. 2.

2. Lewis quotes Wechssler's *Das Kulturpbproblem des Minnesangs*, 1909, Band I, p. 177.

3. Henri Pirenne, *Mohammad and Charlemagne*, Eng. Tr. London, 1939.

4. *Beowulf*, II, 612-618.

5. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

6. Fauriel, *Histoire de la Poesie Provencale*, 1846.

that landless knighthood was possible in Provence.¹ He accepts the picture of a typical Provencal court drawn by 'Vernon Lee:' In the court there were many men but very few women. Around the women of nobler birth there was a throng of the whole male *meiny*, the inferior nobles, etc. This is, however, a picture which reflects not only the Provencal court of the twelfth century but every feudal court in Europe. And Mr. Lewis has to admit in the end: "All these circumstances come very near to being a 'cause;' but they do not explain why very similar conditions elsewhere had to wait for Provencal example before they produced like results."²

Of course all over Europe poets and courtiers had to wait for Provencal example, but elsewhere in the world this tradition, which came to Provence fully developed and rigidly conventionalized, was centuries old. The rigour and the haughtiness of the beloved (or "jafa") the humility of the lover (or "ijz"), the enmity of the rival (or "reqābat") the helpfulness of the confidant ("razdan"), the lover's eternal faithfulness ("wafa") are some of the conventions one finds in early Persian poetry. Their similarity to the conventions of Provencal courtly poetry is striking. Persian poetry had learnt a great deal from Arabic; which in its own turn had been influenced by a Persian literature (of the Sassanid period) now extinct. The influences of Persian taste on Arabic poetry are unmistakable; but all that does not concern us in this article.³ What concerns us, is, that right from the middle of the seventh century to the end of the eleventh century, when Provencal poetry made its sudden appearance, and after, there was a courtly tradition in the near East which influenced life and literature alike.

Islamic law had brought about a segregation of women, which was not complete, but which made women, specially the women of aristocratic classes an object of idealized, and sometimes passionate adoration. "The ladies of the royal household seem to have enjoyed a relatively large degree of freedom. A Mekkan poet, Abu-Dahbal al-Jumahi, did not hesitate to address love poems to 'Āṭikah, the beautiful daughter of Mu'āwiyah, of whom he had caught a glimpse through the lifted veil and curtains as she was on a pilgrimage and whom he later followed to her father's capital. The Caliph had at last to 'cut off the poet's tongue'

1. In 'Umar I's reign Arabian Moslems were not to hold or cultivate land, outside the peninsula. The Arabian conquerors lived in camps. In conquered territories the subject people were left in professions and to cultivate the soil, occupying an inferior status. (Vide, Hitti *History of the Arabs*, 1937). No doubt under 'Umar's immediate successor 'Uṭmān permission was given to the Arabs to hold landed property in newly conquered countries. But it seems this latter policy did not affect the outlying provinces a Transoxania. (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Gibb Memorial Series). Frainet, although a much later conquest, was an area where the Arab Chieftains preferred to live as landless 'knights' rather than as permanent landowners.

2. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

3. I intend to publish later a detailed analysis of courtly conventions in Persian poetry.

by offering him a subsidy and finding him a suitable wife."¹ Another poet, the handsome Waddah-al-Yaman, ventured to make love to one of the wives of al-Walid I² in Damascus in spite of the threats of the Caliph, and finally, paid for his audacity with his life.³

The Prophet's own great-grand-daughter, the daughter of the holy martyr Husayn, the proud and beautiful Sayyideh Sukaynah (†735), already forecasts and in some ways surpasses Elcanor of Aquitaine and Marie of Champagne. "Sukaynah's rank and learning combined with her fondness for song and poetry and her charm, good taste and quick-wittedness, to make her the arbiter of fashion, beauty and literature in the region of the sacred cities. Sukaynah was noted for her jests and hoaxes. The brilliant assemblies of poets and jurists held in her residence, a sort of salon, never failed to be enlivened by her sallies of repartee."⁴

Among the poets who belonged to Sukaynah's circle was the prince of erotic poetry 'Umar-ibn-abi-Rabiah (c 719) born of a Christian mother. He "made it his business to make love to the beautiful damsels pilgrimaging in Mekkah and al-Madinah as well as to such charming residents as the famous Sukaynah."⁵

Another lady praised by the poets and their patroness was 'Ā'ishah bint Ṭalḥah. "This daughter of Ṭalḥah combined with noble descent a rare beauty and a proud and lofty spirit—the three qualities most highly prized in a woman by the Arabs. No favour she requested could very well be refused. Her appearance in public was even more impressive than that of Sukaynah. Once, when she was on a pilgrimage to Mekkah, she asked the master of the ceremonies, who was also the governor of the town, to defer the public religious service until she had completed the last of the seven prescribed processions around the Ka'bah. This the gallant governor of course did, which resulted in his dismissal from office by the Caliph 'Abd-el-Malik. 'Ā'ishah's record of marriages included only three. When her second husband, Mus'ab ibn-al-Zubayr, who had also married Sukaynah and is said to have given each a million dirhams as dowry, took her to task for never veiling her face her characteristic reply was, "Since God, may He remain blessed and exalted, hath put upon me the stamp of beauty, it is my wish that the public should view that beauty and thereby recognize His grace unto them. Under no conditions, therefore, will I veil myself."⁶

Abu'l-Walid Aḥmed ibn Zaydūn (1003-71) the most remarkable of Arab Andalusian poets "fell from grace probably on account of his

1. P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 1937, p. 228-9, quoting 'Aghani,' Vol. IV, pp. 158-61.

2. Al-Walid ruled, 705-714.

3. Hitti, *op. cit.* quoting 'Aghani.'

4. Hitti, *op. cit.* pp. 237 ff., quoting 'Aghani,' Vol. XIV., pp. 164-5 and Vol. XVII. pp. 97, 101-2.

5. Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 250.

6. Hitti, *op. cit.* quoting 'Aghani.'

violent love for the poetess Wallādah, daughter of the Caliph al-Mustakfi."¹ This Wallādah, daughter of the Cordovan Caliph was renowned for personal charm and literary ability. Her home at Cordova was the meeting place of wits, savants and poets.²

Europeans are used too much to think of oriental court life in terms of harems and the enslavement of women. But the harem system was not, it seems, fully instituted until the time of al-Walid II³ (ruled 743-744). The harem system and the first eunuchs⁴ both came from Byzantium.

Poems were addressed to queens, princesses and ladies of noble birth in Abbasid times as well. And there were scandals too, which found their way into poetry and romance. The story of Shams-un-Nehar⁵ in 'Arabian Nights' belongs as much to the tradition of courtly love as Chretien's *Lancelot* or Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseide*.

Much work has already been done to trace the origin of courtly love poetry of the troubadours to Arabic sources.⁶ Ribera has traced the very word 'troubadour' back to an Arabic word.⁷ Through its ballads and love songs Spanish Arabic poetry manifested a tenderly romantic feeling which anticipated the attitude of medieval chivalry.⁸ By the beginning of the eleventh century a lyric system of "muwashshah" and "zajal" developed in Andalusia. Both forms were based on a refrain for the chorus and were undoubtedly sung. Abu-Bekr ibn Quzmān (1160) the wandering minstrel of Cordova raised "Zajal" to a literary form. "The two forms of "zajal" and 'muwashshah' developed into the Castilian popular verse form 'Villancico,' which was extensively used for Christian hymns, including Christmas Carols."⁹

"The emergence of a definite literary scheme of platonic love in Spanish as early as the 8th century marks a distinctive contribution of Arabic poetry.¹⁰ In Southern France the first Provençal poets appear full-fledged towards the end of the eleventh century with palpitating love expressed in a wealth of fantastic imagery. The troubadours who flourished in the twelfth century, imitated their Southern contemporaries, the 'zajal' singers. Following the Arabic precedent the cult of the Dame

1. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

2. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

3. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

4. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

5. 'Arabian Nights,' 152nd to 169th nights.

6. Vide J. Ribera, *La musica andaluza en las conciones de trovadores y troveros*, Madrid, 1923; Ribera *La musica de las Cantigas*, Madrid, 1922; S. Singer, *Arabischer und Europäische Poesie im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1918, etc.

7. J. Ribera, *op. cit.*

8. Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 561.

9. Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp 561-2; also vide J. Ribera, *op. cit.*

10. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 562; cf. Denis de Rougemont, *L'amour et l'Occident*, (Eng. Tr., 'Passion and Society' 1939).

suddenly arises in South Western Europe."¹ And, with platonic love and the cult of the Dame rises the huge structure of *Dolce Stil Nuovo* with striking resemblance to a preceding similar tradition in Spanish Islamic poetry.²

Indeed, more than a hundred years ago Stendhal had suspected the influence of Islamic culture on Provençal love, for in his interesting though unscholarly account of love in Provence he writes, "D'où était tombée dans ce coin du monde cette charmante forme de civilisation qui pendant deux siècles fit le bonheur des hautes classes de la société ? Des Maures d'Espagne apparemment."³

The resemblance between the near eastern courtly tradition and the Provençal *amour courtois* is quite unmistakable. We also know the near eastern tradition has priority, for it makes its appearance in Arabic poetry, as early as seventh century A.D. ; while in Provence this tradition emerges quite suddenly, full-fledged, in the form of a perfect code in the eleventh century. Still, one thing remains to be decided ; whether this resemblance is a matter of mere chance ? Or whether this later tradition was derived from the earlier one ? The answer to this question lies in the history of Provence from the seventh to the tenth century and in the problem of communication between the Arab world and the Provence during these centuries.⁴

As we have seen, many orientalists have traced the growth of Provençal courtly love poetry to the Arabic poetry of Spain. But, the relationship of neighbourhood is, usually, not quite enough, and one may ask why did this tradition not make its first appearance in Spanish rather than in Provençal.

We are told that in the ninth century, in Spain the Christians no longer knew Latin and texts of the Councils were translated into Arabic ; Spanish, therefore had, at least temporarily, severed all cultural relations with Latin and in thought and vocabulary was trying to ally itself to Arabic. The linguistic situation of the tenth century shows that, while

1. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

2. Vide, K. Vossler, *Die Göttliche Komodie, Entwicklungs-geschichte und Erklärung*, Heidelberg, 1907-9 ; Miguel Asín, *Divine Comedy and Islam*, London 1926 ; M. Asín, *Abenmasarra y su escuela. Crígenes de la filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid, 1914 ; A. R. Nykl's Introduction to: *A Book containing the Risala*, etc., Paris 1931, (or its Spanish version, *La Poesia a ambos lados del Pireneo Lacia el año 1100*, in *Andaluz I*, 2, 1933).

Some of these scholars have traced the source of the *Cancionero* and the *Convito* of Dante to the two books of Ibn Arabi, *Tarjuman al Ashwaq* (translated into English by R. A. Nicholson, London 1911), and *Dakhair*, Beyrout, 1894. M. Asín, *Divine Comedy and Islam* is a detailed study of Dante's Arabic sources.

3. Stendhal, *De l'amour*, Ch. 41, 'De l'amour en Provence Jusqu'à la conquête de Toulouse, en 1328, par les Barbares du Nord.'

4. A cultural and literary tradition like this must need centuries of background.

being influenced by Arabic, Spanish was influencing it as well.¹ Still, it was not in Spain but in Provence that the fully developed courtly tradition emerged to influence Europe.

Landless knighthood (if we are to accept the hypothesis of Fauriel and Lewis)² is possible only in a country where there is no peace and prosperity and where the problem of defence is a very acute one. In spite of the wars between the Arabs and the Christians, or civil wars within these communities, there was cultural and social stability in Spain, and the two cultures, Islamic and Christian, thrived side by side, each influencing the other peacefully. There were periods of peace and periods of healthy cultural contacts. There was no need of a conception of love based essentially on adultery in a society which was on the whole peaceful and secure. Indeed, if adultery there should be, the knights of status equal to that of the lady would also be there, and *Frauendienst* would be unnecessary. Only in a society where the knights of the nobler status have either been killed, or are in captivity, or have long departed to fight the enemy, knights of a lesser order or squires have an opportunity to offer love or protection to ladies of higher rank. Thus, roughly speaking, the courtly tradition as we find it in Provence presupposes a cultural, political and social anarchy on which it thrives. Such an anarchy persisted for two or more hundred years in Provence and not in Spain. And this anarchy was brought about by the invasions and incursions of the Arabs which were not organised as was their Spanish conquest but were rather like the raids of pirates. They made peaceful life impossible in Provence, and they made the introduction of one new clause possible in Provencal courtly code, namely the permission of adultery, for adultery always represents a disintegration of society and of the family system. Other clauses of courtly love they transmitted to the nobility and the society of Provence through hostile but chivalrous contacts.

So let us turn to the history of Arab incursions in Provence and Southern France. And here is a chronicle of the military or other contacts of Arabs with the Western European coastline in general, and with Provence in particular.³

A.D. 638 The Arabs took Jerusalem.

A.D. 660 Mu'āwiyah's accession. Mu'āwiyah's ships invaded Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and Sicily.

A.D. 675 Arabs attacked Spain by sea and were repulsed by Visigothic fleet.

1. Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne Musulmane au Xeme Siecle*, Paris, 1932, p. 191 : "L' arabe était la langue la plus couramment employée, mais elle était fortement influencée par l'espagnol, qu'on appelait *al-agamiya*, autant dans les tournures des phrases que dans le vocabulaire lui-même."

2. Lewis, *op. cit.*

3. Most of the events recorded here have been endorsed by the historians of this part of France and this period. My two chief sources are, (1) Renaud, *Incursions of the Muslims into France, Piedmont and Switzerland*, (Eng. Tr. by H. K. Sherwani, *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, January 1930 to October 1931);

(2) Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed et Charlemagne*, Eng. Tr. London 1939.

- A.D. 681 Okba reached the Atlantic; a Romano-Berber counter-offensive.
- A.D. 694 King Egica (Spain) accused the Jews of conspiring with Arabs.
- A.D. 710 The Arabs raided Corsica.
- A.D. 711 Tariq at the head of a Berber army attacked Spain and defeated Roderic, the Visigoth.
- A.D. 712 Arab reinforcements in Spain; they took possession of the country. They raided Sardinia.
- A.D. 713 Musa bin Nuşair proclaimed the authority of the Caliph of Damascus at Toledo.
- A.D. 720 The Arabs captured Narbonne and besieged Toulouse. They raided Sicily.
- A.D. 721 Duke Eudes of Aquitaine drove the Arabs back but could not recapture Narbonne.
- A.D. 725 Arab offensive from Narbonne. Carcassone recaptured by them. They advanced up to Autun and took it.
- A.D. 727 They raided Sicily.
- A.D. 728 They raided Sicily. This year, or later, they raided the island of Lerins near Antibes.¹
- A.D. 739 They raided Sicily.
- A.D. 732 Emir Abd-er-Rahman of Spain captured Bordeaux, but was totally defeated by Charles Martel at Piotiers.²
- The Arabs turned to Provence after this defeat. Sicily was again raided this year.
- A.D. 735 Yussef ibn Abd-er-Rahman, the Arab Governor of Narbonne captured Arles with the help of Mauronte,³ the Duke of Marseilles and Provence.⁴

1. Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed et Charlemagne*, London, 1939.

2. Most modern historians now agree this victory was not of a decisive importance. "This battle has not the importance which has been attributed to it. It cannot be compared with the victory over Attila. It marked the end of a raid, but its effect was not really decisive. If Charles had been defeated all that would have happened would have been that the Musulmans would have pillaged the country more extensively." (Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 156., footnote 2).

3. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Breysig, *Jahrbucher des Frankischen Reichs. Die Zeit Karl Martels*, pp. 77-78; Reinaud. *op. cit.*

4. "It was only natural that the incursions of the Mussalmans into France (even after Piotiers) should loosen all the bonds of French society. This disorder was felt first of all in Septimania and then in Provence the two parts of France which had been totally deprived of governmental machinery since the fall of Visigothic kingdom." Certain ambitious persons who had carved out principalities for themselves and were called Counts or Dukes were afraid of both Charles Martel and the Duke of Aquitaine. "It was for this reason that they appealed to the Muslims of Narbonne, and made an alliance with them. Among these chiefs we are told, was Mauronte whose authority extended over the whole of Provence and to whom our chroniclers give the title of the Duke of Marseilles." (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, Eng. Tr. in *Islamic Culture*, July, 1930, p. 405).

- A.D. 737 The Arabs captured Avignon, with the help of Maucontus,¹ and ravaged the country as far as Lyons, and also Aquitaine. Charles marched against them, retook Avignon, defeated another Arab army which came by sea, sacked and burnt Agda, Beziers and Nimes, but failed to capture Narbonne.² Luitprand of Lombardy attacked the Muslims in Piedmont.³
- A.D. 739 The Arabs made a fresh incursion into Provence and Piedmont, but Charles defeated them with the help of the Lombards.⁴ Charles disarmed the Christians near Narbonne, for they were suspected to be sympathetic with the Arabs⁵ and carried away with him many Arabs as well as Christian prisoners as hostages.
- A.D. 752 Arabs, who had established themselves on the coast of Provence for some years, were expelled by Pippin who failed to take Narbonne.⁶
- A.D. 759 Pippin captured Narbonne. (Narbonne had remained in Arab hands from 720 to 759). *This victory ended the first phase of Muslim penetration into Provence.*
- A.D. 765 Ommayed Caliphate of Cordova established in opposition to the Caliphate of Baghdad. Pippin sent an embassy to Baghdad.
- A.D. 768 Pippin received envoys from the Saracens of Spain who arrived through Marseilles. The moors were causing alarm in the neighbourhood of Marseilles.⁷
- A.D. 778 Charlemagne's expeditionary force was defeated by the Arabs at Saragossa.
- A.D. 793 The Saracens invaded Septimania.⁸
- A.D. 795 Charlemagne established the Spanish March.
- A.D. 798 The Saracens raided the Balearics.
- A.D. 799 They pillaged the coast of Aquitaine coming from the Atlantic side.
- A.D. 807 Nice and Centocelle overrun by the Saracen raiders.

1. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

2. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 157; Breysig, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

3. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, July, 1930, p. 407.

4. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, Breysig, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

5. Reinuad, *op. cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, July, 1930, p. 409.

6. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 157; H. Hahn, *Jahrbucher des Frankischen Reichs*, 741-752, p. 141.

7. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 157, footnote 4, quoting *Chronique du pseudo-Fredegair*. *Continuate. M.G.H. SS. BER. MEROV.*, Vol. II, p. 191.

8. The recapture of Narbonne is mentioned by Arab historians but not by French historians (Reinaud, *op. cit.*).

- A.D. 809 The Arabs occupied Corsica and Sardinia.
 A.D. 810 Haroun-al Rashid's embassy to Charlemagne. First truce between Charlemagne and Al-Hakam (of Spain).
 A.D. 812 Charlemagne signed treaty with the Spanish Al-Hakam.
 A.D. 813 The Saracens again raided Nice and Civita Vecchia.¹
 A.D. 820 Spanish Muslims attacked Sardinia.
 A.D. 827 The Arabs besieged Syracuse in Sicily but failed to take it.
 A.D. 828 Bonifazio of Tuscanay raided the African coast between Carthage and Utica.
 A.D. 830 Naples obtained the support from Saracens against the Duke of Benavento.
 A.D. 831 The Arabs took Palermo and began colonizing Sicily. The embassy of Mamoun-al-Rashid to France.
 A.D. 838 The Saracens raided Marseilles.² *The second phase of Arab incursions in Provence began.*
 A.D. 840 The Saracens penetrated into Provence by way of Rhone.³
 A.D. 842 The Saracens penetrated as far as Arles.⁴
 A.D. 843 The Saracens took Messina with help from Naples.
 A.D. 846 Lothair feared the Arab annexation of Italy. The Arabs took Ostia and advanced to the very gates of Rome. They were repulsed by Guide di Spoleto.
 A.D. 847 The Arabs captured Marseilles.⁵
 A.D. 849 Amalfi, Gaeta and Naples jointly fought and defeated the Arab's Fleet. The Arabs raided the Provencal coast.
 A.D. 850 Another raid on Provence. Arabs penetrated as far as Arles.⁶
 A.D. 857 The Saracens raided Provence again.
 A.D. 869 Saracen adventurers constructed a harbour at Camargue and ravaged Provence.⁷
 A.D. 876 The Arabs became practically the masters of the Southern French coast.⁸
 A.D. 878 The Arab conquest of Sicily made complete.
 A.D. 880 The alliance of Naples with the Arabs against the Byzantine Empire.

1. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 157., footnote 4.

2. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

3. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, Eng. Tr. *Islamic Culture*, October, 1930, p. 617, quoting *Dom Bouquet's collection*, Vol. III. p. 61.

4. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

5. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 157, footnote 4.

6. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

7. Reinaud, *op. cit.*

8. Reinaud, *op. cit.*

- A.D. 889 Arab occupation of Provence began. They established themselves at Sant Tropez and La Gard Freynet (Fraxnietum) in the Chaîne des Maures.¹ This marks the beginning of the third phase of the Arab incursions in Provence.
- A.D. 906 The Saracens crossed the Dauphine and Mount Cenis and ransacked the Novalesa Abbey on the Piedmontese frontier.
- A.D. 908 The Saracens ransacked the Abbey of Psalmodie near Aiguemortes in Languedoc.
- A.D. 911 The Arab occupation of Alpine passes.² From these passes they raided the plains of Piedmont and Montferrat.
- A.D. 920 The Arabs under an uncle of Abder-Rahman III, crossed the Pyrenees and raided a considerable part of Tuscany.
- A.D. 834 Genoa sacked by the Fatimid fleet from Sicily.
- A.D. 939 The Saracens raided Valais. The Abbey of Agaune was destroyed.
- A.D. 942 Count Hugh of Provence, with the help of Greeks attacked the Arabs at Fraxinet; but immediately made truce with them against his rival Berengar. On Hugh's request, Great St. Bernard and other Alpine heights were held by the Arabs to stop Berengar.³
- A.D. 952 Contrad, the master of Burgundy played the Huns against the Saracens, and, as they were fighting, he fell on them and both were defeated by his armies.⁴
- A.D. 953 The Arabs overran Switzerland and reached St.

1. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, June 1931, p. 72 quoting Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 425. *The Chronicle of Navalese Abbey*, *ibid.*, Vol. II. part 2, p. 730; Dom Bouquet's collection Vol., IX., p. 48; Bouche, *Histoires de Provence*, Vol. I. pp.170-172. Cf. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 147, footnote 4, and *op. 249*, quoting M.G.H. *CAPIT.*, ed. Boretius-Krause, Vol. II., p. 377; and A. Schaube, *Handelgeschichte der Romanischen Volker*, p. 98-99.

2. Besides Reinaud, *op. cit.*, see Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 249 and Schaube, *Handelgeschichte der Romanischen Volker*, p. 99.

3. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, January, 1931, pp. 83-85, quoting Luitprand in Muratori's *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vo. II, p. 462-4, and Dom Bouquet's collection.

After the alliance with Count Hufo, the Saracens became bolder and bolder. "They began to marry girls of the land they had now made their own and adopt its native culture." (Dom Bouquet's collections.

4. The responsibility of this hypothesis rests with Reinaud, *op. cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, January, 1931, p. 88. His sources are *Roman de Garin*, Vol. I, and the *Histoires de Hainaut* by Jacques de Gyuse, Vol. III, p. 270.

Gall* near lake Constanx.

A.D. 956 Otto, the Great, sent John of Gorze to the court of Abder-Rahman III who was regarded the protector of Fraxinet Colony.

A.D. 960 Saracens driven out of Mt. St. Bernard.

A.D. 965 Saracens had to evacuate Grenoble.

A.D. 973 Fraxinet captured from the Arabs by Guillaume of Arles. *Thus, the third, the final and the most important phase of their penetration into Provence came to an end. They had dominated Provence, this time, from 889 to 975, almost a whole century.*

A.D. 1005 The Saracens raided Antibes.

A.D. 1019 An abortive Saracen attempt to take Narbonne.

A.D. 1060 The Norman conquest of Sicily and the end of Arab -1091 hegemony in Western Mediterranean.

It will be clear from this chronicle that the Arab penetration of Provence began as early as 720, and then at intervals continued right up to 973. This penetration, and the resulting contact lasted two centuries and a half. The first phase of this penetration was an organized drive from Narbonne, which was a province of Muslim Spain. In the meantime the Arabs were getting stronger and stronger at sea and they were trying to capture Sicily, the naval gate to the European coast of Western Mediterranean. This first phase came to an end when in 759 Pippin captured Narbonne. But, in this period cultural and social contact had very rapidly developed. In Aquitaine and in Provence the Christians and the Muslims were mixing very freely, and intermarriages were not infrequent. That Aquitaine which produced Eleanor and her daughter had to offer a daughter of Duke Eudes to Othman, the Arab chief of the frontier. Aquitaine preserved for a long time the legacy of courtly code.

The second phase of Saracen penetration into Provence consisted mainly of naval invasions by sea. The Saracen fleet had become very powerful and the Saracen pirates were given a free hand by North African and Spanish governors. But among these pirates there must have been refugees from the courts of Baghdad and Moorish Spain, and the process of carrying the Arabic courtly code to the coast of Provence must have continued. This phase lasted from 838 to 888, that is fifty years.

The third phase (889-975) is far more important. The Arabs settled down at Fraxinet, at several other strongholds and at the Alpine passes. But they did not try to build up a system of government on the lines of their Spanish or Sicilian possession. The Caliph at Cordova was nominally the protector of Fraxinet, but he had actually no hold over

* Reinaud, *op. cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, January 1931, pp. 88-89 quoting the *Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Gall* in M. Pertz's collection, Vol. II. p. 137. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.* Hitti is of opinion that certain Swiss place-names such as 'Gaby' and 'Algaby' (al-Jabi=tax collector) may possibly be of Arabic origin.

these Arab adventurers. They ravaged the country year in and year out.¹ There was no peace, no prosperity. The invaders and the invaded, except for cases of temporary, suspicious alliances, were on terms of almost perpetual hostility. Now, paradoxically but, in fact, very truly as Miguel Asin has pointed out, "the effect of war in imparting to the belligerents an intimate knowledge of each other is notorious."² The peoples and nobles of Provence knew the Arabs and their intimate habits among them, the habits and ways of making love, better than the native Spaniards, or Sicilians or any other European people, who though ruled, were ruled in peace and allowed to live according to their own culture.

Besides, by denying Provence peace and prosperity, the Arabs had produced those very social conditions which encouraged lax morals. The knights of nobler rank were busy in the field, or in the counter-raids, generation after generation, and men of inferior rank were left with the lonely ladies to offer them protection and love. The sanctity of married life ceased to function. The male *meiny* learned the art of love-making, the art of seduction of their mistresses, of *Frauendienst* from their Arab adversaries who must have been experts in this game because of their centuries old experience.

Landless knighthood, as we have already noticed, could only thrive in a period of national adversity and misery. This institution was borrowed very probably from the invading Arabs. A law of 'Umar forbade Arabs to hold any landed property in conquered countries. Though this law was soon repealed by 'Uthman, 'Umar's immediate successor, yet it must have left its mark on distant provinces like North Africa. There, after the Berbers' claim of equality, these landless Arab noblemen must have seen their only hope in piracy and adventure. However, the Arab settlers never tried to create for themselves the security of being landlords; they chose to live as landless adventurers living on spoils.³ They lived entirely on booty, and if they did not get it in Provence after they had reduced this province to poverty, they turned its strongholds into their headquarters and ravaged the countries around, Piedmont, Switzerland, Burgundy. The Arabs who ruled at Fraxinet were, therefore, landless chieftains; and the nobility of Provence had only to follow their example to produce as many landless knights as possible.

Merely a centuries-old contact with an invading and ravaging foreign race is not enough to give a country a civilization, such as the courtly civilization of Provence. There were, as a matter of fact, Barbarian raids all over Europe. But the invaders of Provence were Arabs, and however sanguinary or cruel their career in Provence, they had a very highly-

1. Vide, Pirenne, *op. cit.*, Pirenne and Reinaud both give a very detailed description of the lawlessness and insecurity of this land, in this period.

2. Miguel Asin, *Divine Comedy and Islam*, p. 239.

3. Reinaud, *op. cit.*

developed courtly civilization. The very force of historical events impressed this civilization on Provence.

After 942, when the Arabs became the masters of the Alpine passes, Provence became isolated from the rest of Europe. "The passes leading to Provence were now deserted."¹ In this period there was not a vestige of trade or commerce left, and there was little communication going on between various countries of the European continent."² Indeed Henri Pirenne goes so far as to conclude, "In the Occident. . . . the coast from the Gulf of Lyons and the Riviera to the mouth of the Tiber, ravaged by war and the pirates, whom the Christians having no fleet were powerless to resist, was no merely a solitude and a prey to piracy. The ports and the cities were deserted. The link with the Orient³ was severed, and there was now communication with the Saracen coasts. . . . The classical tradition was shattered, because Islam had destroyed the ancient unity of the Mediterranean."⁴ We need not accept Pirenne's theory in its entirety. The Saracens of the Riviera must have remained in touch and in communication with the Saracenic ports of Muslim Spain, Sicily and North Africa, from where they got most of their manpower.⁵ But two broad facts emerge from all this. In the first place, for about one hundred years or so, Provence remained cut off from European civilization as it developed elsewhere. Secondly, in this period Provence belonged culturally and politically to the orbits of Cordova and Baghdad.

In spite of, and perhaps because of the hostility of the Arab and the Christian in the Provence, race-mixture increased and had a great part in the transmission of Arab cultural heritage. "The Saracens carried off the women of the country and threatened to perpetuate their own race through them. There are reasons to believe that more than one Christian made common cause with the Mussulmans."⁶ After the loss of Fraxinet, the Arabs who remained in Provence suffered from a discrimination in matters of sex, but as they gradually accepted Christianity and merged into the population, they continued giving Provence the stamp of their culture while losing their identity.⁷

So culturally Provence had already accepted the courtly civilization when the impetus of song came from Spain where as Ribera⁸ and others have shown, the poetry was deeply influenced by the example of Arabic. The people of Provence had learnt more from the Arabs because they had suffered more at their hands. They had remained cut off from the main

1. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

2. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, January, 1931, p. 78.

3. i.e., Byzantium and the Eastern Mediterranean.

4. Pirenne, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

5. Reinaud, *op. cit.*

6. Reinaud, *op. cit.*

7. Reinaud, *op. cit.*

8. J. Ribera, *La musica andaluza medieval en las conciones de travadores y troveros*. Madrid, 1922.

springs of European civilization. Since they had lost touch with the European traditions, this new poetry from Spain inspired them to write a poetry much closer to the original Arabic verse in convention and in sentiment.

The Arab occupation of Provence came to an end in 975, that is towards the end of the tenth century. In the eleventh century the Provencal courtly poetry reached its first bloom.

And the troubadours were first patronized in those very countries which had been ruled by the Arabs—in Spain, in Aquitaine, in Southern Italy and in Norman Sicily.

AZIZ AHMAD.

A HISTORY OF BAHRAM SHAH

INTRODUCTION

IN these pages I have tried to write a history of Sultān Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn on the basis of surviving historical records and the references found in the work of his court-poet, Sayyid Ḥasan, and of other contemporary poets and men of letters. I have made efforts to consult all books and manuscripts available on the period and have, off and on, consulted several eminent scholars and almost all the important libraries of India. But I had to work without a local guide and may have failed to utilise materials not available in India or published in Iran. I hope the learned critics will kindly overlook my shortcoming and favour me with their suggestions for improvement.

FROM the ff. 17b-18b of the British Museum MS. Or. 1869 we learn that Sir Henry Elliot had asked Nawwāb Diyāud-Dīn "Nayyar-i-Rakhshān,"* a pupil of the famous Indian poet Ghālib, to collect historical references from the works of the poets, Mas'ūd-i-Salmān (d. 515/1121) and Sayyid Ḥasan (d. 556/1161), the court-poet of Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn. Unfortunately the Nawwāb could not pay attention to this request and this chapter of "the darkest pages of history," as Barthold calls it in his "Turkestan" could not eventually be brought to light. I have attempted here to fill up the gap by collecting all references and putting them, along with other details, as "torch-lights" for illuminating the history of Bahrām Shāh, the great-great-grandson of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn.

* He wrote these notices on the 12th March, 1861. See the Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. III, p. 979. It is surprising to see the marginal note in English on f. 18 b, most probably by Elliot himself, saying that he had asked the Nawwāb to collect those references from the work of Sayyid Ḥasan only and not from that of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd.

(I) BAHRĀM SHĀH'S FATHER

Following the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*,¹ Mr. 'Abbas Parviz,² a modern historian of Persia, says that Bahrām Shāh was the uncle of Malik Arslān son of Mas'ūd III (d. Shawwāl, 508/February 1115).³ But this statement is only partially correct. Malik Arslān was the son of Mas'ūd III, as we find in a verse of a contemporary poet 'Uthmān-i-Mukhtārī⁴ (d. A.D. 1149 or 1159):—

ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود - طراز ملک جهان بادشاه ملک طراز⁵

Bahrām Shāh was also a son of Mas'ūd—not Mas'ūd's brother; several contemporary poets bear witness to this fact. Thus the poet Mu'izzī (d. 542/1147) says:—

شاه بهرام شاه بن مسعود - خواجه مسعود سعد را بنواخت⁶

Sanā'ī (d. 545/1150)⁷ also records:—

شاه بهرام شاه بن مسعود - که بنزد به عدل او محمود⁸

Lastly, Sayyid Ḥasan, the court-poet of Bahrām Shāh, recalls in one of his many such verses:—

شاه بهرام شاه بن مسعود - که سزد چرخ صفه بارش⁹

Hence it is clear that Bahrām Shāh was not the uncle but the brother of Malik Arslān and the son of Mas'ūd III.

1. Bankipore MS., F. 1234; or Calcutta edition, 1864, p. 22.

2. The History "Az-Tāhīriyān ta Mughūl," Vol. I, p. 509. For the detailed history of Malik Arslān see my essay in the "Ma'arif" dated November-December, 1941.

3. Ibn Āthīr, Cairo ed. Vol. X. p. 177; "Jannatu'l-Firdaus," Bankipore MS., f. 64 a. etc.

4. In the India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 638. Dr. Ethe gives the date of his death as 544 or 554/1149 or 1159. But this date would be wrong, if according to the writer of the "Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq" (Vol. III. f. 1022a, Bankipore) we believe that the poet's following verse was in praise of Khusrau Malik, the grandson of Bahrām Shāh, who ruled from 559/1163 (and not Khusrau Malik, the son of Malik Arslān)

ابوالملوک خداوند خسروان زمین - جال مملکت خسرو ملک پناه سپاه

Dr. Razāzāda Shafaq, in his literary history (p. 102), ascribes one doublet 'Shahryār Nāma' to this poet.

5. His diwan, Bankipore, 1. 7b.

6. Diwan of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, Tehran ed., 1318, p. 732. A good copy of Mu'izzī's diwan is now in the Asafia, (Deccan). For his dates and those of his father, Burhānī see my essay in the "Ma'arif," August, 1942.

7. A good discussion about his death, by Dr. Ethe is to be found in the Bodlien Library Catalogue p. 463. See also Maulānā S. Sulaimān Nadvī's essay in the "Ma'arif" March, 1933, and also my new data in that journal, dated September, 1942.

8. Ḥadīqa, Lucknow ed., p. 625.

9. India Office MS., No. 931, f. 146b.

(2) BAHRĀM SHĀH'S MOTHER

About Bahrām's mother we have to consider a lot of evidence before we can come to any conclusion. Almost all the historians say that Mahd-i-'Irāq ("cradle of Iraq"), sister of Sultan Sanjar (d. 552/1157), was the mother of Bahrām Shāh.¹ But Mr. 'Abbās Parvīz² again misleads us by saying that she was the daughter of Sanjar. This cannot be correct, because, according to *Rāhatu's-Šudūr*,³ a history considered to be very important for the Saljūq period, Sanjar was born in 479/1086. (Cf. Bundārī, Cairo ed., 1318, p. 234, who gives Friday, Rajab 25, A.H. 471-February 1, A.—D. 1079, as the date of his birth). So even if we take Bundārī to be more authentic and fix Sanjar's birth in 471/1079, and suppose further that Sanjar, like his grandfather, Alp-Arslān,⁴ was married at the age of thirteen, in 484/1092, and that "Mahd-i-'Irāq" was the eldest daughter born to him, even then the date of her birth cannot be earlier than 485/1093. But this must be wrong, because Firishta⁵ tells us that when Bahrām's grandfather, Ibrāhīm (d. 492/1099), had no fear and felt secure from any attack by Sanjar's father Malik Shāh (d. 486/1093), because of his son Mas'ūd III's marriage with Mahd-i-'Irāq, he diverted his attention towards India and personally conquered the fort of Ajodhan (modern Pāk Pattan) in 472/1079-80. Ibnu'l-Athīr⁶ gives the date of this conquest as the 20th Šafar, A.H. 476 (Sunday, the 9th July, 1083). Anyway it is not possible that Sanjar's daughter could have been married before these dates, because Sanjar was himself born in 471/1079, even if we accept the date assigned to his birth by Bundārī, who puts it earlier.

Now we have to judge (a) whether "Mahd-i-'Irāq" was the mother of Bahrām Shāh, as the writer of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāširi* says and (b) whether she was the daughter of Malik Shāh as several other historians record. Fortunately we find a valuable treatise "*Ādābu'l-Harb*" by Fakhrū'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (d. 607-633/1201-1235), who gives detailed accounts of this marriage. He says that when Malik Shāh gathered together a large host from Khwārazm, Khurāsān and 'Irāq with a view to marching against Ghaznīn, Sultān Ibrāhīm sent Mihtar Rashīd (better

1. e.g., *Rauḍatu's-Šafā*, Lucknow, ed. 1874, Vol. IV, p. 799.

2. See his history, Vol. I, p. 509.

3. See its f. 77a or J.R.A.S., dated July and October 1902. Also 'Majālisu'l-'Ushshāq,' Lucknow, 1897 p. 232.

4. Sanjar's father Malik Shāh was born in 445/1053, when his father Alp Arslān was fourteen years only. For these dates see J.R.A.S., July 1902, pp. 594 and 597.

5. Lucknow ed., Vol. I., p. 48.

6. Vol. X, p. 46.

7. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, April 1938, p. 192. The detailed accounts that led to this marriage are found on ff. 60a-65a, British Museum MS., or its reprint by the Oriental College, Lahore, May, 1938, pp. 18-27.

known as Abur-Rushd Rashīd) as an envoy to him. The envoy stayed long enough at the court of Malik Shāh, till he succeeded in cementing the political relations of the two kings by arranging marriage of Mas'ūd III with the daughter of Chaghar Beg Abū Sulaimān Dā'ūd¹ b. Mikā'il b. Saljūq; i.e., with the cousin of Malik Shāh's father Alp Arslān. The actual words of the *Ādābu'l-Harb*, on f. 64a, are as follows:

(ملک شاه، مهتر رشید را) گفت - "من دختر نه دارم - اما عمتی هست مرا به عراق، دختر چغریک داؤد، نام زده کردم - پس بفرست تا بیارند و بدان حضرت برند -"، و برفور بفرمود تا به عراق نامه نوشتند که عمت خویش را با امیر علاء الدوله مسعود به زنی دادم - زود تر برگ او بسازند که کسان می آیند تا هر چه زود تر گسیل دهند - و آن دختر مادر سلطان ملک ارسلان بود -

We have (now) no daughter (for marriage), but have an aunt in 'Irāq (hence, probably called "Mahd-i-'Irāq" or "the Cradel of 'Irāq") daughter of Chaghar Beg (Abū Sulaimān) Dā'ūd, whom we betroth (to Mas'ūd III). You should send some one to fetch her that she may be brought and taken to that court." A letter was immediately written under his orders to 'Irāq to the effect that he had given his aunt in marriage to the Amīr 'Alāu'd-Dawla Mas'ūd III and that the necessary arrangements for her departure were to be made at once and she was to be sent with the men who were coming to fetch her. That lady eventually became the mother of Malik Arslān (the brother of Bahrām Shāh). The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān/d. 515/1121/ also refers to this relation in the following lines:—

(از زبان ملک ارسلان گوید:—)

من مایه عدل و مایه جودم - سلطان ملک ارسلان مسعودم
محمود خصالم و رسم و راه رانم - زیرا شرف نژاد محمودم
با قوت و قدرت سلیها نم - زیرا از اصل و نسل داؤدم

In these verses the poet traces the descent of Malik Arslān² the son of Mas'ūd III from (a) Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn and (b) Chaghar Beg Abū Sulaimān Dā'ūd³ (d. 450/1058). There is one more verse of this poet to the same effect:—

توئی ز گوهر محمود و گوهر داؤد - دادم شاه نسب دارد از چنین دو نژاد

1. For his full name see J.R.A.S., July 1902, p. 588.

2. His diwan, Tehran 1318, p. 611.

3. In 'Rauḍatu's-Safā,' Lucknow, 1915, Vol. IV, p. 124 the date of his son Qāwurd's enthronement is given as 450/1058; i.e., he died in that year. In the 'Alkhbārū'd-Dawlati-Saljuqiyya,' Lahore, 1933, p. 29, the date of his death is Šafar 452/ March 1060. Miss Iqbāl Shafī rightly remarks, in the 'Islamic Culture' April 1938, p. 196, that the daughter must have been older than Mas'ūd III, because he was born in 453/1061.

4. The diwan of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, p. 113.

Again in this verse the poet mentions his patron Malik Arslān to have been descended from (a) Maḥmūd and (b) Dā'ūd while in a *tarjī'*-band he traces Bahrām Shāh's descent from Maḥmūd (Yamīnu'd-Dawla) only :—

1 گویند هفت کشور زیرنگین کند - شاه زاصل و نسل یمنی و این توی

Hence it is clear that (a) Malik Arslān was the son of the (Turkish) Saljukide princess "Maḥd-i-'Irāq," as his name (meaning 'a lion' in Turkish) also denotes, and that (b) Bahrām Shāh was not born of that lady, as the above verse makes no such mention and the following passage of the *Ādābu'l-Harb* also clarifies :—

”..... اما سلطان (سنجر) می اندیشید که اگر او (بهرام شاه) را باری دید و سلطان ملک ارسلان را از تخت ملک برکنند مردمان زبان دراز شوند و گویند که بیگانه را معونت فرمود و خویش و نزدیک را از مملکت دور کرد“ 2

(3) BAHRĀM'S BIRTH

We now try to find out the probable date of Bahrām's birth. From the *Ādābu'l-Harb*,³ *Haft-Iqlim*,⁴ etc., we know that Malik Arslān was the elder brother of Bahrām. So if we find out the date of Arslān's birth we can at least say that Bahrām was born thereafter. Ibnu'l-Athīr⁵ and Abu'l Fida⁶ say that Arslān was murdered in Jumādā II, 512/September, 1118, A.D. at the age of *twenty-seven* : i.e., he was born in 485/1092. But the writer of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*⁷ says that he died in 511/1117 at the age of *thirty-five* ; i.e., according to him Arslān was born in 476/1083. Now we have to judge which of these dates is correct, and for this purpose we have to know first the date of Mas'ūd III's marriage with Maḥd-i-'Irāq. From a panegyric of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd we may quote here a few important lines on the subject :—

ای تاخته از غزنین ناگه زده بر سقسین چو نان ده به صیداندر بر لبیک زند شاهین
سلطان جهانگیری مسعود ملک شاهی کت قدر فلک رتبت بگذشت ز علین
8 زو روز بدیع آمد با فتح و ظفر همراه بنگر ده چه خوب آمد با دمه فرور دین

1. *Ibid.*, p. 560.

2. *Ādābu'l-Harb*, p. 32. Also see its page 24. Had' Maḥd-i-'Irāq been Arslān's step-mother, he would not have dared to send her to Sanjar to win him over against her own son Bahrām (as history says) or to request Sanjar's real brother Muḥammad to persuade him not to attack Ghaznī in favour of Bahrām.

3. p. 32, (*Ibid.*).

4. Asafia Library MS., Hyderabad, f. 112 b.

5. Cairo ed., Vol. X. p. 179.

6. Cairo ed., Vol. II, p. 239.

7. Calcutta ed., p. 23.

8. The poet's diwan, p. 436.

From these verses it is clear that when Mas'ūd III invaded Saqsīn¹ in the month of "Dai" (December-January) he had already been married to Maḥd-i-'Irāq. The poet mentioned him as one related to Malik Shāh and not to Chaghar Beg Abū Sulaimān Dā'ūd, who was his real father-in-law, probably because (a) Malik Shāh² was more famous than him and that (b) the latter had already died by then. Unfortunately, history does not tell us when Mas'ūd III invaded Saqsīn, otherwise we could very easily know that the marriage had already taken place before that invasion. Anyway, we should now seek the help of history in a different manner.

We have already learnt from Firīšta (p. 48) that Ibrāhīm diverted his attention towards India and conquered the fort of Ajodhan (Pāk-Pattan) in 472/1079-80, after he had felt secure from the danger of the Saljūq attacks because of his son Mas'ūd III's marriage with Maḥd-i-'Irāq. This means that the marriage had been performed sometime not later than 471/1078. But this date must be wrong because of the following reasons:—

(a) From the 'Rāhātūṣ-Ṣudūr'³ we understand that Malik Shāh was busy in that year, capturing Samarqand, etc.; and the 'Ādābu'l-Ḥarb' records that Ibrāhīm's envoy Rashīd had taken several⁴ months for discussions, etc., before he could be able to fix that marriage. Hence it is clear that Malik Shāh, who was then preoccupied with wars in distant places like Samarqand, etc., had no peace of mind for months together to hold those discussions.

(b) Nizāmī 'Arūḍī writes in the *Chahar Maqala* (Discourse II, story 6) that when the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was first imprisoned⁵ in 472/1079-80 he sent the following quatrain to Ibrāhīm:—

1. There is difference of opinion about the locality of Saqsīn. In تقویم البلدان it is said to be a city of the Asiatic Turkestan. In حدود العالم we find a note on p. 453, which shows that it is the same as Itil situated near Astarḵān on the lower-bed of the Volga (or دریائے اتل). From 'Nuzahatu'l-Qulūb' (pp. 10 239, 259) and from Yāqūt's 'Mu'jamu'l-Buldān,' Vol. IV, p. 560 we understand that it was somewhere on the east of the Caspian Sea. In D'Ohson's map it is shown on the Volga on the latitude 53° N. In the Spinner-Menke Atlas (map No. 67) it is on the bank of the river Aral on 67° E longitude and 53° N latitude; i.e., near the modern Orenberg. I am obliged to Principal Muḥammad Shafi' for kindly giving me this information.

بورشد رشید کز فلک ماه آورد - جان اعدا ز کاه در چاه آورد
آورد برای هر کسی راه آورد - از هر ملک ملک شاه آورد

2. The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (p. 695) has also got a quatrain to the same effect.

3. J.R.A.S., July 1902, p. 597.

4. For these details see the 'Ādābu'l-Ḥarb,' pp. 18-27.

5. Nizāmī mentions the fortress "Nai" where the poet was then first imprisoned, but it was his third prison as he himself says, in his diwan (p. 526);

هفت سالم بسود سوو دهک - پس از آتم سه سال قلعه نای

Mīrzā Qazwīnī, in his note on this poet (Tr. Brown, pp. 41-43), says that this imprisonment was after 480/1087-8 and a little before 492/1098-99. See also Rashīd-Yāsīmī's preface to this poet's diwan.

در بند تو ای شاه ملک شه باید - تا بند تو پای تاج دارے ساید
آن نس ده زیشت سعد ساہان آید - گر زهر شود ملک نرا نگزاید

In this quatrain the poet refers to Malik Shāh as one who deserves to be imprisoned (because of enmity), while he pleads his own innocence, at the court. This means that by that year (if that date be correct) there was no such matrimonial alliance between the two courts. Hence we shall have to agree with Ibnu'l-Athīr who gives the date of the *subsequent* capture of Ajodhan as the 20th Safar, 476/Sunday, the 9th July, 1083.

Now, in order to ascertain the exact date of that marriage we shall have to refer to other accounts as well. From Ibn-Khaldūn¹ we know that Malik Shāh gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Caliph al-Muqtadī (d. 487/1094) in the year 474/1081-82. This eventually means that it was only after this year that Malik Shāh had to say to Rashīd, the envoy of Ibrāhīm, "We have no daughter (now to marry with Mas'ūd III)." Hence it is now quite clear that the marriage of Mahd-i-'Irāq with Mas'ūd III was performed *after* 474/1081-82 and *before* 476/1083 (when that subsequent capture of Ajodhan was effected); i.e., in 475/1082-83.²

We can now find out the year of the marriage, if we just select here some verses of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd in praise of Rashīd, the envoy of Ibrāhīm:—³

آلت رامش بخواه ، گوهر شادی بیار	رعد منال آن بزن ، ایر نهاد ابن بیار
شهر زدیبای روم نغزتر از بوستان	راه زخویان شهر خوب تر از قندهار
روے چو دوزخ زمین گشت زسبزه ، بهشت	نقص گرفته جهان ، شد به زمستان بهار
نزی شادی همی هیچ دلے را ملال	نزی مستی همی هیچ سرے را خار
دانی امسال چیست سورت ازان شاد شد	ساخته سازش همی گردون بر آرد پار
عمده پاینده ملک خاصه خسرو رشید	آمد باز از عراق شاد دل و شاد خوار
دیدہ ز چرخ کمال مهرے بس نورمند	یافته از بحر ملک درے بس شاهوار
داد به شهزاده زاده شاهی چنو	در هنر مملکت دیدہ نه تند روزگار
آن پسر تاج دار تاکہ برافراخت تاج	هر دم بوسد زمین پیشش هر تاج دار
تاتو بفرخنده فال رقی از پیش شاه	نه داد حضرت فروغ ، نه داد شاهی قرار
پنجه سرو و چنار لزان بود از دعا	دیدہ نرگس به باغ زرد شد از انتظار
بوم خراسان نه دید برکف تو جام زر	شرم زدو می برست لاله از لاله زار
ای زهمه منخرت عرض تو بسته حلی	وی زهمه مکرمت نفس تو لوده شعار

1. Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. Ahmad Husain), Vol. XIV, p. 13. The daughter was sent to the Caliph in 480/1087 (Rauḍatu's-Safā, 1915 Vol. IV, p. 101).

2. Ādābu'l-Harb, p. 24.

3. Diwan, pp. 209-21. From 'Ibnu'l-Athīr' (Vol. X, p. 57) we know that Nizāmu'l-Mulk spent 100,000 gold coins in this marriage from his own pocket.

دایم پوشیده نیست بردل بیدارتو که من چه بینم همی در فزع کوهسار
چون بوم خشم زوهم در شکم این مضیق چون زاغ خیزم ز ترس بر سر این کوهسار

The following points are to be noted in the above verses:—

(a) The last two verses clearly show that this panegyric was written by the poet when he was a prisoner in a fort (Sau ?) situated on some hill.

(b) The verses 6-8 clarify the point that the envoy Rashīd succeeded in obtaining for a 'prince' (Mas'ūd) the hand of a 'princess' (Mahd-i-'Irāq) from 'Irāq.

(c) We have already proved that the marriage was performed in 475/1082-83. Now from the third and fifth verses we understand that it was held, beyond any doubt, in winter (Sha'bān-Shawwāl, A.H. 475=21st December A.D. 1082—20th March, A.D. 1083). This ultimately shows that the writer of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* is correct in saying that Arslān was born (of that union) in 476/1083. This further shows that Bahrām, who was younger than Arslān (although of a different mother) must have been born not earlier than 477/1084.

(4) BAHRAM AS CLAIMANT TO THE THRONE

On the death of Mas'ūd III in Shawwāl,¹ A.H. 508/March, A.D. 1115, his son Sherzād, according to his will,² ascended the throne of Ghaznīn. But with his accession the fratricidal wars broke out and he had to repair to Ṭabaristān to the court of the Ispahbad 'Alā'u'd-Daula 'Alī b. Shahryār b. Qārin (of the House of Bāwand) who fulfilled his desire to arrange for his pilgrimage to Mecca. After his return Sherzād was enabled to proceed once more to Ghaznīn,³ but he was soon after killed by his brother Arslān. His other brothers were also either killed or arrested, except Bahrām, who happened to be at Tikinābād of Garmsīr from before the death of their father there.⁴

Malik Arslān, better styled as⁵ "As-Sultānūl-A'zam, Sultānū'd Dawlat (Abu'l-Mulūk) Malik Arslān b. Mas'ūd," ascended the throne of Ghaznīn on Wednesday, the 6th of Shawwāl, A.H. 509 (=22-2-1116) as we find out from the following panegyric written in his praise by Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān:—

به عون ایزدشش روز رفته از شوال برآمد از فلک دولت آفتاب کمال
گذشته پانصد و نه سال تازی از هجرت زه مبارک ماه و زه مبارک سال

1. 'Mu'jmal-Faṣīḥī,' Bankipore, f. 160a; Ibnul Āṭhīr, Vol. X, p. 177, etc.

2. Muḥammad Baqā's 'Mirātu'l-'Ālam,' Bankipore, f. 109a 'Tārīkh-i-Guzīda,' Habibganj, etc.

3. Ibn Isfandiyyār's History of Tabaristan (Tr. Browne), pp. 58-59.

4. 'Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī,' Raverty, p. 148 Tikinābād is a large city of Garmsīr (or the hot country), so called after the heat of its climate.

5. Such are the inscriptions of his coins (See Elliot's History, Vol. II, p. 483).

جهان به عدل بیاراست آن بزرگ ملک
 ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود
 ز هفت چرخ فلک او یافت هفت اقلیم
 چه روز بود که پیش از زوال چشمه مهر
 چهارشنبه بود و چهار گوشه تخت¹

که دین و دولت ازو یافته ست فروجهال
 که بحر کوه وقارست و کوه بحر نوال
 که یافت ملک ز تائید ایزد متعال
 مخالفان را شد عمرو جان و جاه زوال
 گرفت نصرت و تائید و دولت و اقبال

But as Bahrām was then at Tikinābād, he appears to have resisted there the forces of Malik Arslān, but then on being defeated, he fled away. This we understand from the following verses of the same poet :—

ز شاه ینم دلہائے اہل حضرت شاد
 من این نشاط کہ دیدم ز خلق درغزین
 سپہ کشیدہ و آراستہ بداد جہان
 ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود
 بہ کام گاری بردیدہ زمانہ نشست
 چہ روز بود کہ در بوتہ سیاست او
 چہار شنبہ روزے کہ از چہارم چرخ
 زمین تو گوئی مرخصم ملک را بگرفت
 گہے عزیمت کرد و گہے ہزیمت شد
 چہ منفعت ز عزیمت کہ آن نہ بود قوی
 خدایگان زمانہ مظفر و منصور
 بسوے حضرت راند و براند حظ نشاط
 جز آن نہ گویم شاہا کہ رودکی گوید²

ہزار رحمت برشاہ و اہل حضرت باد
 بدید خواہم تا روز چند در بغداد
 بدست حشمت برکنندہ دیدہ بیداد
 خدایگان جہان دار شاہ شاہ نژاد
 قدم ز رتبہ بر تارک سپہر نہاد
 عیار ملک بپالود خنجر پولاد
 سمود ریخت ہمی مہر برتکین آباد
 بدان زمان کہ برآمد زطاغیان فریاد
 چنان کہ باشد در پیش بازگرسنہ خاد
 چہ فائدہ زہزیمت کہ آن نہ یافت نہاد
 بہ زر فشاندن بر خلق دستہا بکشاد
 چنان کہ زلزلہ در کوسار و بحر فناد
 ”خدائے چشم بد از ملک تو بگرداناد“

These lines refer to Malik Arslān's enthronement and subsequent flight of Bahrām (7-12) from Tikinābād. The seventh verse particularly refers to the former's predominance and ascendancy, because the deliberate use of *سپہ* and *چرخ چہارم*, relating to *برج اسد*, explicates the literal meaning of Arslān *اسد* or lion. The same poet writes another panegyric for the occasion :—

سزد کہ باشی شاہا ز ملک خرم وشاد
 خدائے دادت ملک و خدائے عزوجل
 خدائے بود معین ساعت گرفتن تو
 سپاہ بے حد بود و سلاح بے مر بود
 چو ابر نصرت بارید چرخ فصل خزان
 ز تیغ تیز تو فریاد کرد دشمن تو

کہ ملک تو در شادی و خرمی بکشاد
 نگاہ دارد ملک تو ہمچنان کہ بداد
 ترا نیاید حاجت بہ خنجر پولاد
 ولیک قاعدہ ملک تو خدائے نہاد
 بہار گشت ز ملک تو در تکین آباد
 ولیک آن جاسودے نہ داشت آن فریاد

1. His diwan, pp. 317-318.

2. Ibid. p. 127-128.

زهر سوے سپہے بس گران فرستادی کہ خسروی بہ توتا زمست و مملکت بہ توشاد
توداد گیتی دادی و لشکر تو کنون جہان بگیرد کاند ر نبرد بدهد داد
رسد زهر سپہے ہر دو ہفتہ فتحے کہ تہنیت کند آن را خلیفہ بغداد
۱ مرا بہ مدحے شاہا ولایتے دادی کدام شاہے ہرگز بہ مادحے این داد

In these lines the following points are to be noted :—

(a) The last verse most probably refers to the poet's release from the fort of Maranj, his last prison, because for him there could be no greater 'kingdom' than this. Thus the date of his release could be 509/1116, when Arslān ascended the throne.

(b) From the verses 3-6 it is again clear that Malik Arslān attacked Tikinābād, whence Bahrām, as has already been clarified, fled away.

(c) It appears from the 7th, 8th and 9th verses that Malik Arslān sent his forces to different places of the country to establish his supremacy. This point is further clarified from the following verses of the poet 'Uthmān Mukhtārī who refers to Ray² where the new Sultān went for the same purpose :—

ہمنجنہ ست خیزمی آرای چراغ رے تا برچنیم گوہر شادی ز گنج مے
در خدمت رکاب خداوند شرق و غرب ذکرے دگر کنیم و جہانے کنیم مے
ہنگر کہ تا دومہ بہ چہ عدت بود سپاہ سلطان ابو الملوک ملک ارسلان بہ رے
شاہے کہ در غنیمت ہندوستان مدام رایان رسند بخش غلامان او ز فے
شاہے کہ پیش افسر چون آفتاب او تخت ملوک بوسہ دہد خاک را چو فے
روز جلوس شاہ بہ گردون ندا رسد کای چرخ حق شاہ بہ حرمت گذار مے
ہر تاج ور کہ جز بہ مراد تو دم زند با تیغ تو برو نہ کند عقل حکم مے
شکر تو در دہان جہان باد چوں شکر اقبال پیش تخت تو بستہ میان چو فے
و می خوردنت موافق و شافی وطیع ساز ہمنجنہ ات مبارک و مسحور و نیک مے

These verses show that at Ray he was recognised as king on the festival of ہمنجنہ ; i.e., on the 2nd of the Persian month Bahman

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112. This panegyric appears to have been written in the month of Muḥarram (510 May, 1116) as its last line shows :—

بہ دور ماہ ز سر تازہ گشت سال عرب خدائے بر تو و بر ملک تو خجستہ کناد

2. From the 'Rauḍatū's-Ṣafā' (1915, Vol. IV, p. 100) we understand that during the reign of Mas'ūd I (d. 432/1040) the Saljūqs had captured all (non-Indian) possessions of the Ghaznavides and then Maudūd (d. 440/1048) ruled only over Afghānistān and India. In the 'Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi' (p. 71) it is stated that in 28/1036-37 the Ghaznavide kingdom was cut off from Khurāsān and 'Irāq and was limited to Ghaznī only, while the Saljūq sovereignty was recognised even up to Samarqand at least, whereas we know also from Ḥakīm's 'Tārīkh-i-Māwarāun-Nahr' (Bombay 1310, p. 17) Sanjar went twice (in 524/1130 and 53/1140-1) to crush rebellions. At any rate, the poet's contemporary evidence regarding Arslān's recognition in Ray needs no further corroboration to the fact that his sway extended up to that place as well.

3. 'Mūnisu'l-Aḥrar,' Ḥabībganj, p. 591.

(February, A.D. 1116 or *Shawwāl*, A.H. 509) when he ascended the throne of *Ghaznīn*.

We have already seen above that *Bahrām* was at *Tikīnābād* when his father expired. But he had to flee to *Sīstān*, accompanied, as *Muḥammad-i-'Awfī* says,¹ by one attendant, and they took precaution of having their horses shod backwards. Through *Sīstān* *Bahrām* proceeded to *Kirmān*² to seek the help of *Arslān Shāh*, (b. *Kirmān Shāh* b. *Qāwu'rd* b. *Chaghri-Beg Abū Sulaimān Dā'ūd*) who ruled from (Friday) the 22nd of *Muḥarram*, A.H. 495 (16-11-1101) to 537/1142. This king treated, *Bahrām* with great regard and affection, and, as *Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm* says, "helped him with so much money as it was beyond human capacity." He also said, "As the great king *Sanjar* is now on the throne it is not proper for me to give you an army, but I have done all that was in my power to help you financially." He then sent one of his nobles to *Sanjar* to recommend the case of *Bahrām* to him.

In the following verses from a contemporary poet, *Sanā'ī*, we get a reference to the help the king of *Kirmān* gave to *Bahrām* :—

مثل ابتدای دولت شاه	هست چون یوسف و برادر و چاه
گرچه ز اخوان هوان رسید اورا	کار محنت بجان رسید اورا
آخر الامر عالم و شه شد	بر سپهر شرف خور و مه شد
نه چو ره رفتش نیاز آمد	منهزم رفت و شاه باز آمد
بے زیان بازگشت سوے مکان	خود ز سیر آفتاب را چه زیان
چون که سلطان عادل و اعظم	ملک و دین را بکرد باهم ضم
کرد ازان نیزه زبان باریک	دیدہ عمر دشمنان تاریک
روئے بختش ازان به کرمان کرد	تاعدو را غذای کرمان کرد
آمده سوے شهر و از مردیش	بوده داد و دهش ره آور دیش
گر چو شب رفت چون نهار آمد	ور چودی رفت و چون بهار آمد
تا سوے شهر خویش باز نه شد	دیدہ ملک و دینش باز نه شد
3 کشورے را دو پادشہ فرہ است	در یکے تن یکے دل از دو بہ است

1. Sir H. Elliot's History, Vol. II, p. 199.

2. For these details and the treatment by *Arslān Shāh* see '*Tawārikh-i-Al-i-Saljūq-i-Kirmān*' (*Houtsma* Berlin, 1886), pp. 25-27. The date of his death in '*Mujmal-i-Faṣṭhī*' (Bankipore, f. 164 a) is 536/1141. The poet '*Uṭhmān-i-Mukhtārī*' was one of his admirers (*Majmū'a-i-Qaṣā'id* No. 4512, p. 20, *Ḥabībganj*).

رفتم بہ راہ غزنین بر آب آہنین	خفتم بہ حد کرمان بر آتشین سراب
لیکن مرا نمود چون داؤد و چون خلیل	آہن بری ز قوت و آتش بری ز تاب
دارای برو بحر و نگہبان ملک و دین	خورشید تخت و تاج و خداوند شیخ و شاب
بوالحارث ارسلان شہ کرمان شہ آن کہ هست	اورا معز دولت و دین از فلک جناب

3. *Ḥadiqa*, Lucknow ed., pp. 638-642. In the 7th verse the poet refers to *Bahrām*'s shooting of *spear*. Cf. '*Adābu'l-Ḥarb*' (p. 31) wherein he is called an expert in *arrow* and *spear*.

From the *Ādābul-Ḥarb*¹ we learn that it was, by divine inspiration, that Bahrām went to the court of Sanjar and took refuge with him. He remained in his company on all occasions, and would offer himself for all work, till the Sultān (Sanjar) became very fond of him and made him his confidant. His praiseworthy services, cultured manners and good behaviour towards the noblemen made them say the following to the king, who shared their feelings that²

”مدتی است ده خود را پیش تخت افکنده است و بدین درگاه التجا ساخته و خدمت های پسندیده کرده و به محاسن اخلاق دل مبارک بادشاه را در یافته ، در حق او تربیت کردن و معونت فرمودن از عادت پسندیده و اخلاق حمیده بادشاه اسلام است“ -

This remark relieved the Sultān of his anxiety that people would blame him for helping a *stranger* (Bahrām) against his own kith and kin (Arslān). One day when the Sultān went out hunting Bahrām shot an arrow and transfixed two birds, which were flying one over the other. The Sultān praised him very much and gave him a precious robe of honour and from that very day he planned to raise an army for Bahrām and the same week the latter led³ a considerable force towards Ghaznīn. The writer of the *Ādabu'l-Ḥarb* further explains why Sanjar helped Bahrām :—

” جمله اعیان و ارکان و سران لشکر را هواخواه او دیدم و جمله به یک زبان نیکوگوئی و در مردانگی و شجاعت مستثنی و در تیر اندازی بے همتا ، اندیشیدم که اگر برین جمله تیر کی می انداز دیکے در کار من کند و این مملکت من فروگیرد از دست او که بیرون کنند ؟ هرچه کند بر مملکت پدر و جد خود کند نه بر مملکت من “ -⁴

So, as the same writer says, a wooden arrow caused the recovery of the great kingdom of Ghaznīn.

(5) FIRST BATTLE WITH MALIK ARSLAN

At this time (510/1116) Sanjar was not the sole monarch of Khurāsān but a deputy⁵ of his elder (real) brother Muḥammad b. Malik

1. For the details and the ensuing quotations see the 'Ādābu'l-Ḥarb,' pp. 32-34.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 32-33—Cf. 'Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri' (Raverty), p. 148, ll. 23-24 and p. 109. l. 16.

3. Other histories, e.g., 'Rauḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafā' (IV, o. 49), Firishta (pp. 49-50) etc., state that Sanjar himself led the army to Ghaznīn. We shall see its details later.

4. 'Ādābu'l-Ḥarb,' pp. 33-34.

5. He was a deputy of his brothers Barkhyāruq (d. 498/1104) and Muḥammad (d. 511/1117) in Khurāsān from 489/1095-96, and after the death of the latter he became the sole monarch of Khurāsān 'Irāq, etc., See 'Raḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudūr' or its summary in J.R.A.S., 1902 pp. 849-856. As long as he was a deputy his title was "Nāṣiru'd-Dīn" and afterwards as a monarch he was called "Mu'izud-Din." See Ibn Khaldūn, (Tr. Vo. IX, o. 85).

Shāh (d. 511/1117). He first sent letters¹ to Arslān, advising him to settle the matter with Bahrām and come to a compromise, but he refused to do so. Moreover, he (Arslān) had treated his mother "Mahd-i-'Irāq" very badly.² Eventually these reasons led Sanjar to start personally against Arslān in 510/1116.

When Arslān knew that Sanjar was to come personally against him he sent an envoy to Muḥammad (another near relative), requesting him to prevent Sanjar from marching further. So, Muḥammad sent a messenger to Sanjar for the purpose, but instructed him not to obstruct him if he had already started for Ghaznīn. The messenger found him on his way and thus his errand was shunned.³

Sanjar, with an army of 30,000 men, started for Ghaznīn along with Bahrām and at Bust⁴ they were joined by Tajud-Dīn⁵ (d. 559/1164), the ruler of Sistān, and his brother Fakhrud-Dīn.

The joint forces of these great warriors of the age frightened Arslān, although he had got a large army consisting of 30,000 cavalry, innumerable infantry and 160 elephants. So he was driven to sue for peace and thus sent his mother "Mahd-i-'Irāq" to Bust, with 200,000⁶ gold coins and other presents to win over Sanjar. But she was herself against Arslān, because he had treated her badly and had either killed or imprisoned all her sons. So, instead of winning Sanjar over for Arslān she added fuel to the fire of his anger.

1. Badāyūni, Calcutta ed., 1868, Vol. I, p. 39; Muḥammad Yūsuf's 'Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh,' Bankipore, f. 316a.

2. Raverty (Ṭabaqāt) writes in footnote No. 5 of page 108 that "Arslan is said to have requested her to dance before him for his amusement." But this must be an exaggeration, because she was, as we have seen, his real mother and no son, however wicked he may be, can ask his real mother to do so. This could be possible only when he was in a state of utter drunkenness. Anyway, some uncommon thunders and fire are reported (Firishta, p. 50) to have occurred in his reign as "heaven's wrath."

3. Muḥammad Yūsuf's 'Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh,' f. 316a.

4. Bust is a hot city of Sistān and situated on the west of the Helmand (see Elliot, Vol. II, p. 575). For these details see 'Ḥabību's-Siyar,' Bombay 1857, Vol. II, part IV, p. 33; Firishta, pp. 49-50; 'Tarikh-i-Abu'l Khair Khānī,' Bankipore, f. 136a., etc.

5. His capital was Nīmrūz. Sanjar gave his sister Ṣafīyya (Dawlat Shāh, Browne, p. 107) to him. Jabālī (d. 555/1160) was one of his court-poets. For this poet see my article in the Nagpur University Journal, No. 11.

6. 'Ibnu'l-Āthīr' (Vol. X, p. 178) says that Arslān had sent 100,000 gold coins and that in the battle he had 120 elephants, each having four warriors on. The poet Mas'ud-i Sa'd also refers in his diwān (pp. 465-466):—

ملک ملک ارسلان - ساکن روض الجنان
جمع شد از هر سوے - دو بست دوه روان
جمله هر آن هریکے - یک از دهاے دمان
بر سر پیل مست - نشسته یک پیلبان

Thus the combined forces of Khurāsān and Sistān marched on Ghaznīn and at a place one 'farsakh'¹ from the city a very fierce battle was fought. Tājūd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl of Sistān showed great valour and killed or captured several elephants of Malik Arslān. Consequently disaster prevailed and the army of the latter lost heart and was totally routed. Khawāja Sa'id Mustawfī, of the court of Tājūd-Dīn, has described this event as follows:—

گفتی از صف کشیده پیل و کروه	کوه صحرا شده ست و صحرا کوه
سرخرطوم هر یک از مستی	که بلندی گرفت و که پستی
تا بر آو یخت سر ز آب نهنگ	کرد اندر هوا بصد آهنگ
رفت براوج ماه زهره همی	بانگ ناله شنیده مهره همی
ملک نیم روز نصر خلف	شد پیاده ، در آمد اندر صف
پیش صف باز رفت نیزه بدست	راه پیلان بنوک نیزه بیست
دشنه در کف ، چو شیر در غرید	شکم پیل مست را بدرید
شد سراسیمه پیل و گشت ستوه	اندر آمد زپایه همچون کوه
لشکر سیستان دلیر شدند	هر یکے همچو نره شیر شدند
زور بازوے خویش بنمودند	نیزه و تیغ کار فرمودند
ملک نیم روز کرد آن روز	کارزارے که گشت ازان پیروز
خاک میدان زخون گلستان کرد	وز دلیری و پر دلی آن کرد
که نه کرده ست رستم دستان	وز همه عمر خویش صد یک آن
آن یل گرز گیر و خصم شکن	آن نریمان نهاد و رستم تن
بخت و اقبال یار او گشته	جنگ و پیکار کار او گشته
شده میدان رزم گلشن او	نه کشد کوه تاب جوشن او

Besides this poet, 'Abdu'l Wāsi' Jabalī has also given these accounts in a long panegyric of fifty-two verses in praise of Tājūd-Dīn. Some of them are as follows:—

چہ جرم ست این برآورده سراز دریاے موج افکن	به کوه اندر دمان آتش، به بحر اندر کشان دامن
مصاف افروز و عالم سوز شاه نیم روز آن کس	که در ملک ست کافی کف و وای عهدوصافی ظن
ملک بوالفضل نصر ابن خلف فرزانه تاج الدین	که بر باید همی تاج از سر شیران شیروژن
بدان که کز سجستان شد سوے غزنین یکے لشکر	همه با دولت خسرو ، همه با صولت بهمن
ملک تائید ، دیو آهن ، فلک تاثیر ، کوه آلت	نهنگ آسیب ، شیر آفت ، ملک آشوب ، پیل افکن

1. One 'farsakh' or 'farsang' is equal to a league or one hour's march (see the note on the 'Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb,' J.R.A.S., Oct., 1902, p. 478). Principal Muhammad Shafi' has clearly defined it (the Oriental College Magazine, August 1933, p. 48) as equal to about four English miles.

2. 'Tārīkh-i-Abu'l-Khair Khānī,' Bankipore, f. 136 a. The first verse has "Karoh" and not "Karwah" as Raverty (p. 352) has taken it a variant in his translation of the 'Tabaqāt.'

ربودندے چو کنجشکان به منقار از زمین ارزن
 چو شیران عرین پر دل ، چودیوان لعین پرفن
 که گردون شان به وقت کین نیارد گشت پیرامن
 چوباد تیز دریابر ، چوسیل تند هامون کن
 چو تمساح دمان هائل ، چو تعببان سیه ریمن
 گروه بر نهاد خوک و تو در جرشان بیژن
 اجل در درع زنگاری فشانده خرده ریون
 که گاه رجم سیاره ز گردون سوے اهریمن
 شد آثار امل ظاهر ، شد اسباب ظفرین
 نه گشت از زخم تورسته ازین بے چارگان یک تن
 چو اهل سیستان هرگز به مردی ایزد ذوالمن
 ز جور عالم جانی ، زدور گنبد تو من
 مرا ورداست همواره دعای توبه هر مسکن

دلیرانے کہ از گردون بنوک نیزه سیاره
 مخالف جنگ را آمد برون بالشکر دیگر
 درآورده به بیش صف چو گردون ژند، پیلانے
 چو کوه زفت شخص اخگر، چو غول دشت حیلت گر
 چو ضرغام دژم جوشان، چو عفريت حرون گوشان
 سپاه از نژاد دیو و تو در جنگ شا رستم
 قضا در تیغ سیاهی نشانده ریزه مرجان
 چنان رفت از کان تو سوے دشمن همی ناوک
 چو شد رایے ہا یونت قرین رايت اعلی
 نه گشت از فر تو جسته ازین خون خوارگان یک کس
 درین رفعت پدید آمد کہ ناورد از بنی آدم
 خداوندا اگر هستم به شخص از خدمت غائب
 1 مرا حرزاست پیوسته ثنائے توبه هر موضع

Thus Arslān was totally defeated by the combined forces² of Khurāsān and Sīstān, but we are forced to the conclusion that he bravely faced the odds. Anyway, he had to repair to India to recoup his lost strength and seek the aid of Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm (his viceroy in India), about whom we shall discuss later.

On (Sunday) the 20th of Shawwāl,³ A.H. 510 (=25-2-1117) Sanjar entered Ghaznīn with triumph and remained there for forty days, i.e., up to Friday, the 1st of Dhul-Hajj, A.H. 510 (=6-4-1117). He forbade his men to do any harm to the city or to the citizens and made Bahrām his deputy or vassal to rule Afghānistān (and naturally India as well) on the understanding that the latter should pay him 1000 gold coins (dinars) per day.⁴ A tax-collector for the purpose was then posted at Ghaznīn.

The riches that fell to the lot of Sanjar included five crowns, each costing more than 1000 dinars; seventeen thrones of gold and silver

1. 'Mūnisu'l-Aḥrar,' Habībganj, pp. 740-743.

2. From Ibn-Khaldūn (Tre., Vol. XIII, p. 1) we know that Quṭbū'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusain of Ghūr sided with Arslān at this time, but no practical help is recorded anywhere.

3. In 'Ibn-Āthīr' (Vol. X, p. 178), Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. Vol. XIV, p. 132) and Abū'l Fidā (Vol. II, p. 239) the date of Sanjar's attack on Ghaznīn is A.H. 508, but it is wrong, because we have already seen above that the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd praised Arslān on his enthronement in 509/1116. Hence Sanjar's subsequent attack must have been after it. Muḥammad-i-'Awfī (Elliot, II, 199) gives the date of Arslān's defeat as Wednesday, the 14th of Shawwāl, A.H. 511, but on that date it was Friday and not Wednesday. Hence I have preferred 'Rauḍatu's-Ṣafā' (IV, 49) in the text, because even according to Muḥammad-i-'Awfī this was Arslān's first defeat (and not the second one of 511/1118).

4. 'Rāḥatu's-Ṣudūr,' p. 168.

and other innumerable things of the Ghaznavide treasures.¹ All this opulence must have been accumulated ever since the foundation of that grand and splendid dynasty.

On the enthronement of Bahrām Shāh the poet Sayyid Hasan of Ghaznīn is said to have recited a panegyric in the presence² of Sanjar which began thus:—

منادی بر آمد ز هفت آسمان که بهرام شاه ست شاه جهان

Sanjar then returned to Khurāsān, leaving Bahrām Shāh at his capital.

(6) SECOND BATTLE WITH ARSLAN

When Sanjar left Ghaznīn, Arslān collected forces from India, and attacked Bahrām Shāh. As the latter was not then in a position to withstand his attack he fled and took shelter in the fortress of Bāmiyān, a place to the north-west of Ghaznīn. This should have occurred not earlier than 511/1117-18, because we have already seen that up to the last month of the year A.H. 510 Sanjar was at Ghaznīn. This time he sent an army from Balkh³ and with that support Bahrām Shāh could secure his footing. Arslān could not stand before it, so he fled away till he was pursued and captured in the Shākran⁴ Hills; i.e., on the Afghan⁵ frontier. He was then handed over to Bahrām Shāh, who imprisoned him (in 511/1117) and then released him in 512/1118, but later killed him in Jumādā II, 512/September, 1118, when he found him again intriguing against him. He was buried in the mausoleum of his father Mas'ūd III at Ghaznīn.⁶

From the following selected lines of the contemporary poet, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd we find some important references to this second decisive battle between the two brothers:—

1. Ibn-Āthīr, X. 178; Ḥadiqatū's-Ṣafā, Bankipore, f. 229b. The riches must have been great, because Sanjar had to kill his able vizier Fakhrū'l-Mu'lk b. Nizāmu'l-Mu'lk who had usurped much of it. See Ḥabību's-Sīyar' (IV, II. p. 100).

2. 'Ṭabaqāt' (Raverty), p. 109; Firīšta, p. 50, etc. Only this opening verse is found in several histories but nothing about it in any copy of the poet's diwān, is available in England, France and India. In 'Tārīkh-i-Abu'l-Khair' (f. 115b.) the verse is stated to have been recited by Bahrām himself, but this must be wrong. Raverty (Ṭabaqāt, p. 110, n. 1) says that such was the inscription on the reverse of his coins struck in Lahore in 548/1153, mentioning also 514/1120 as the 5th year of his reign. If it was the poet's verse then it is, no doubt, the greatest honour ever done to a poet anywhere.

3. Muḥammad 'Awfī (Elliot II, p. 199). He further adds that Bahrām had fled to Balkh.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibn-Āthīr (Vol. X, p. 179); Firīšta, p. 50.

6. For these details see Ibn-Āthīr (ibī); Abu'l-Fidā (II, p. 239), etc. See Raverty (Ṭabaqāt, p. 109, n. 5) for Arslān plotting against Bahrām and (p. 109, n. 6) Arslān's death at Shāhābād in Shawwāl, A.H. 511, which is an incorrect date, as we shall see later.

ای بت لبث ملے ست کہ آن را خمار نیست
سرو و چنار باران در هر چمن و لیک
ای قندھار گشته ز تو جایگاه تو
منت خدای را کہ زمانہ بہ کام ماست
در عدل می چیم کہ عدل اختیار کرد
سلطان یمین دولت بہرام شاہ کوست
ہستی سوار ملک و چنانی کہ پیش تو
دل در شکار شیر میند از برای آنک
گر گہ گہی بہ چوگان بازی روا بود
ای پیشوائے و قبلہ خود امیدوار باش
پیرار و پار بندہ زجان نا امید بود

وی مہ رخت گلے ست کہ رستہ زخار نیست
باحسن و زیب قد تو سرو و چنار نیست
واللہ کہ لعبتے چو تو در قندھار نیست
و امروز روز دولت مارا غبار نیست
شاہ کہ از ملوک جزا و اختیار نیست
شاہ کہ در زمانہ ز شاہانش یار نیست
خورشید بر سپہر چہارم سوار نیست
یک شیر نر زیم تو در مرغزار نیست
گر چہ زبرف روی زمین آشکار نیست
نزعمر خویش دشمنت امیدوار نیست
و امسال حال بندہ چو پیرار و پار نیست

The following points are to be noted in these lines :—

(a) In the last verse the poet wants to say to Bahrām Shāh that the *last two years* were worst for him (the poet), because the patron's rival Arslān was then the king. This shows that the poet wrote that panegyric in 511/1117-18, when Bahrām Shāh had ascended the throne.

(b) The verses 7-8 refer to Arslān's defeat, because the word "Arslān" in Turkish means a "lion" or "Leo" which as the poet says is absent from the "fourth heaven." From the twelfth verse it is quite clear that the enemy was not dead till then.

(c) The ninth verse clearly shows that it was the time when ground was fully covered with snow; i.e., it was the *winter* of the year A.H. 511 (21st December 1117-20th March 1118).

A similar reference about Arslān's ("lion's") defeat and subsequent murder is found in Sanā'i's *Ḥadīqa* as well. Some of its important verses are given here :—

مہر کہ جست اندرین ولایت صدر
بود باغی زبغی فسق و فساد
شہ زیب خون کہ ریخت از شش سون
کرد خصم بے آب را در خواب
ہمہ جہال دہر دانند این
کہ نہ زبید برای ملک و خطاب
اندران جنگ دشمن و خصمانش
تشنہ مانده زبان دشمن او
پیش بہرام شاہ بن مسعود

از سر جہل بود نزر قدر
چون بقایاے قوم ہود زعاد
گوئی یاقوت شد زمین از خون
سرش از تن جدا چو کوزہ آب
جملہ غافلان شناسند این
خرس در تخت و خوک در محراب
صورت شیر بود و شاد روانش
جان او خشم کردہ باتن او
ظفر و فتح در رکوع و سجود

1. The poet's *diwān*, pp. 70-71.

2. *Ḥadīqa*, Lucknow, ed., pp. 663-666.

(7) BAHRAM SHAH'S ENTHRONEMENT

On the second defeat of Malik Arslān and his capture by Saljūq army Bahrām Shāh was the sole monarch of Afghānistān and India. He ascended the throne amidst great rejoicings and the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd commemorated it with a "musammat" which begins thus:—

بهرام شاه خسرو گیتی نشای گشت	خورشید دهر و سایه فرخدای گشت
چترش نه شد هایون فرهای گشت	اورا خدای عزو جل رهنای گشت
آن خنجر زدودش دولت فزای گشت	روے عدوے اوشده چون چتر او سیاه
تادر زمانه شاه جهان تخم عدل کاشت	هر مجرمے که یافت از و جرم در گذاشت
گر مدح او سپهر برآب روان گذاشت	چون نقش سنگ صورتش آب روان نه داشت
تا اوج چرخ دین حق و داد سرفراشت	آن شاه داد گستر و حق ورز و دین پناه

(8) BAHRAM SHAH'S NAME AND TITLES

His full name, as found in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*,² was Bahrām Shāh (and not Bahrām only). His 'kunya' "Abu'l-Muzaffar" is found in several places in Sayyid Ḥasan's diwān:—

ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود	که هست نامش بر نامه ظفر عنوان
ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود	که جان صورت ملک ست و روے دیده دین
سلطان ابوالمظفر بهرام شه که ساخت	عالی های همتش از سدره آشیان

It is just possible that this 'kunya' had been adopted by him only after his victory over Arslān some other time because in the sub-heading of a canto in Sanā'i's *Ḥadiqa* we get another 'kunya' as "Abu'l-Ḥārith."⁴

His title "Mu'izzu'd-Daula" is found in the following histories:—

Sadr-i-Jahān (Bkp., f. 28/b), *Jannatu'l-Firdaus* (Bkp. f. 64a), *Subh-i-Sādiq* (Bkp., Vol. III, f. 1021a), *Firishṭa* (p. 50), *Raudatu's-Safā* (1915, Vol. IV, p. 50), *Ṭabaqāt* (Raverty, p. 109), *Khazīnatu'l-Auliya* (Lucknow ed., p. 898), etc.

Another title "Alāu'd-Dīn" or "Alāu'd-Dawla" is found in *Habību's-Siyar* (II, IV, 33), *Khulāṣatu'l-Akhhbār* (Bkp., f. 204a), *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi* (p. 71), *Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh* (Calcutta ed., 1938, p. 275), etc. This title is found in a verse of the poet Sayyid Ḥasan as well:—

5 خدا یگان سلاطین مشرق و مغرب علا دینی و دین خسرو زمین و زان

1. 'Mūnisi'l-Ahrār,' Ḥabībganj, pp. 279-280; Badāyūnī, Vol. I, op. 43.

2. Raverty, p. 106.

3. Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris, MS. Supplement Persian 797, 6b, 11a and British Museum Or. 4514, f. 124b, respectively.

4. Lucknow ed., p. 625.

5. British Museum MS. (*ibid*), f. 125a.

But his more popular titles were "Yamīnu'd-Dawlat" and "Amīnu l-Millat," as the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd recalls :—

ای پادشاه دولت و دین را یمین تویی ای شهر یار ملت حق را امین تویی

As this poet belonged to the early part of Bahrām Shāh's reign, (because he died in 515/1121), the titles mentioned by him should have been in use ever since it began. The poet Sayyid Hasan also mentions them :—

آن امین ملت و ازفته ملت را امان و آن یمین دولت و ازمن دولت رایسار¹
مشتري منظر، شه کیوان محل، بهرام شاه، آسمن روزگارست، آفتاب روز تار

* * *

یمین دولت و دین و امین ملت و ملک که آرزو زمینش ره یسار گرفت²
ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود که زر خورشید از رانے او عیار گرفت

And so they are found in the preface of *Hadīqa* by Sanā'ī's pupil Muḥammad b. 'Alī ar-Raqqā, which we shall discuss later. The title "Yamīnu'd-Dawlat" is also found in his coins, which reads as follows :—³

"Bahrām Shāh, Sultānu'l-A'zam, Yamīnu'd Dawlat."

In the catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum (by Chas. J. Rodgers, Calcutta, 1896, pp. 160-161) three coins of Bahrām Shāh are mentioned. Coin No. 7867 contains the names of the Caliph al-Mustarshid-billāh (d. 529/1135) and Sanjar (d. 552/1157) on one side, and the names of the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him!) and Bahrām Shāh (with the said titles) on the other. I think this coin was in use in Afghānistān, because the other coins (Nos. 13167 and 8952), like those of the previous Ghaznavide rulers,⁴ contained on the reverse the image of a bull (or cow?) and the inscriptions "Shri Samanta Deva" in Sanskrit, and these must have been used in India alone. This is no doubt, a proof of the toleration of the Ghaznavides in India.

(9) BAHRAM'S BANNER, CANOPY AND CROWN

We have fully discussed the Islamic and Ghaznavide banners in the *Ma'ārif* (A'zamgarh, March-April, 1944), but here we shall give a short account of Bahrām's banner only. His banner was *black*, as we find in Sayyid Hasan's verses :—

1. His *diwān*, p. 560.

2. British Museum MS. (*jbid.*), ff. 122b. and 119a. respectively. These titles are found in the 'Tarikh-i-Guzida' as well.

3. Elliot's History, II, 483. Professor Sherānī of Lahore has got several copper coins of Arslān and Bahrām and I had the privilege to see them with him.

4. For the coins of Maḥmūd and later Muslim rulers, who used Sanskrit inscriptions and images of bull, see Professor Sherānī's articles in the Oriental College Magazine, November, 1929, pp. 3031.

ای رفته زمین رایت تو دیده به حمایت سیاهی
 1. بهرام شه ای شاه که از رایت شهرنگ در کوکبه چون زلف بتان ماه گرفت

Like that of his ancestors.² Bahrām's banner, too, contained an image of a "lion." The poet Sanā'ī refers to it in his verse in praise of Bahrām thus :—

هر کجا شاه ما بتافت عنان شیر را یات او شود همه جان
 8. راے رایان به تیغ کرده قلم نیزه را شیر کرده شیر علم

1. India Office MS. No. 931, ff. 142 a and 110 b. respectively.

2. About Maḥmūd's banner we have got no definite record, but the following verse of 'Unṣurī (d. A.D. 1040) suggests that it was black (Diwan, Lucknow 1922, p. 42) :—

بیای پر نیان بر نیزه او رداے خویش بر بستے پیمبر

This view of mine should be correct, because from 'Tarīkh-i-Gardizī' (Qazvinī, pp. 49, 69, 76, etc.) we learn that Maḥmūd and his successors received diplomas, titles and banners from the Abbasiḍ Caliph in recognition of sovereignty or some victory, and as these Caliphs had black banners (Hasting's Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 145 seqq.) they must have sent them to the Ghaznavides. The following verse of 'Unṣurī (pp. 89-90) may suggest that Maḥmūd (like his descendants) had a lion's image on his banner:—

برون برد علم تو ز مغز شیران هوش برون برد کرم تو ز روے پیران چین
 بدیع لفظ تو در است و افتخار صدف بزرگ باس تو شیر است و روزگه عرین

But about his descendants we get clear records. His grandson Ibrāhīm (d. 492/1099) had a lion's device on his banner, as Abul Faraj Rūnī, who died after 497/1104 (vide the Oriental College Magazine, May 1938, p. 55) says in his diwān (Chaikeen, p. 61):—

چو شیر رایت شیر دلیر او بیدل چو شاخ آهوشاخ درخت اوے بر

About Mas'ūd III (d. 508/1115) the same poet (p. 89) says:—

در جهد باس او به شیر فلک اگر اندر شود به شیر علم

The same Rūnī (p. 77) says about Mas'ūd III's brother Saifud-Dawla Maḥmūd:—

چندان علم شیر برافراشت که بفروید زایشان به فلک برج اسدے عدد اشکال

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'īd (p. 563) speaks of Sherzād (d. 509/1116) as follows:—

خشت او بس که کرد شیران کم شیر گردون بماندو شیر علم

The Saljukides, too, had a lion's image on their banner and it is just possible that it was due to their influence that Ibrāhīm, who had to make alliance with Malik Shāh, adopted it for his own banner. Before him, as we have just seen, we get no clear and definite evidence of the same even in the verses referred to Maḥmūd above. About Sanjar's banner, with a lion's image, we find several verses of Anwari in his Kulliyāt (Lucknow 1297/1880); e.g., pp. 17, 61, 290, etc. Even those petty rulers who flourished after Sanjar, like Fīroz Shāh and Malik Shāh b. Tughān-tigīn, had such banners (see 'Anwari,' pp. 76, 382-410).

3. Hadiqa, Bombay ed., p. 340 and Lucknow ed., p. 659. respectively.

The following verses of Sayyid Hasan also give the same reference :—

آن چنان شیر علم سربفرازد به مثل گوئی از چشمه خورشید کند آب خوری
* * *

1 زنده از باد مشو بیهده چون شیر علم نکیه برخاک مکن خیره چون نقش ایوان

Like Maḥmūd,² Bahrām Shāh had also a "crescent," as his symbol, on the pennon of his banner, as we gather from the following verses of the same poet :—

ماه اگر گشته ز ماه رایت او بهره ور مهر اگر بودی ز ماه رایت او مایه دار
دویتی بگذشت هلال رایت شاه از ماه من به پای به گل دودست کوناه از جاه
دور افتادم به قصد بد خواه از راه ای شاه ز بند دور کن که از راه

Again like Maḥmūd,⁴ he had a *black* canopy and also a *white* crown as we find in the following verses of Sayyid Hasan :—

مگر ز چتر تو شام سیاه گردون خواست چو فر تاج تو صبح سپید کار گرفت
* * *

رتبت چتر سیاهت مرغ روزگور لاجرم تا شد همه چشمش سپید از انتظار
* * *

ملک دگردار امید زان که بدادت نوید صبح ز تاج سپید شام ز چتر سیاه
* * *

5 از تاج تست عکسے صبح سفید پوش وز چتر تست خالص شام سیاه وار

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd has also referred to Bahrām Shāh's *black* canopy :—

1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 44a and 128b.

2. From Hasting's Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 146 we know that Maḥmūd had introduced "crescent" as a sign of rule and domination in India.

3. India Office MS. (ibid), ff. 21b and 182b. respectively.

4. Maḥmūd's court-poet Farrukhī (d. 429/1038), while praising his brother Yūsuf, the commander-in-chief of India, refers to the *black* canopy and (probably to the *black*) banner (Intikhab-i-Farrukhī, Lahore, 1354, p. 25) thus :—

چتر سیاه و رایت تو سایه فکنده ست در هند به هر جائے که حصے و حصار است

Sanjar had also a *black* canopy, as this verse shows :—

چون چتر سنجرى رخ بختم سیاه باد با فقرے بود هوس ملک سنجرم

In the 'Miftāḥu't Tawārikh' by Thomas William Beale (Agra ed., 1848, p.69) this verse is said to belong to Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī (d. 561/1166), but in the 'Intikhab-i-Shu'arā-i-Mutaqaddimīn' (Hamidia Library, Bhopal No. 3, f. 343b.) it has been ascribed to 'Irāq. (d. 688/1289). In this MS. (f. 359b) from Anwari's following verse it appears that Sanjar's canopy bore an image of a lion :—

سلطان سلاطین که شیر چترش در معرکه سلطان شکار باشد

But in the 'Kulliyāt-i-Anwarī' (Lucknow 1180, p. 103) it is "bāz-i-Chatrash" in the first hemistich of the verse.

5. India Office MS. (ibid) ff. 20 b, 22a. 114a. and Paris MS. Suppl. 797 f. 10b, respectively.

1 آن خنجر زدودش دولت فزائے گشت روئے عدوئے او شده چون چتر او سیاه

From the *Ādābū'l-Harb* (Lahore, May 1938, p. 9) we know that Bahrām Shāh's father Mas'ūd III had a *falcon* on his canopy and so the son had, as the poet Sayyid Hasan says:—

2 مبارک اوج تخت او فلک را برکنار آرد خجسته باز چتر او جهان را زیر بردارد

(10) BAHRAM'S FIRST INVASION OF INDIA

We have already said that Malik Arslān came to India to take forces from his viceroy (or deputy) Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm for his second attempt to regain his throne of Ghaznīn.

Subsequently, when Bahrām Shāh ascended the throne of Ghaznīn, this viceroy,³ being in favour of Arslān, revolted against Malik Arslān and

1. Badāyūnī, Cal. ed., 1868, Vol. I, p. 43 this poet (diwān, pp. 490, 664) refers to the white crown and black canopy of Malik Arslān as well:—

روئے دولت سپید و قصر سپید روز دشمن سیاه و چتر سیاه
* * *
گوید سپهر باشد دولت سپید روئے تاهست چتر ملک ملک ارسلان سیاه

2. India Office MS. (*ibid.*) f. 95a.

3. He belonged to the Zarīr or Shaibānī family. Their first ancestor, about whom we find references in the Ghaznavide period, came from Jājarm (a city at the western limit of the Juwain plain, south-east of Isfarāyīn vide 'Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb,' p. 196, Bombay) during the reign of Ibrāhīm (d. 492/1099). The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (pp. 370-371) says about him in a panegyric in praise of that king:—

شدش فرامش آن حال کاند از جاجرم نمد قبائے پوشیده پاره و خلکان
چویافت از ملک شرق زور و زهره شیر بد و سپرد ملک مرغزار هندستان
زرزم جویان دادش چهل هزار سوار چو تیغ آخته قدو چونیزه بسته میان
چواز قبائل نسبت همی به شیبان کرد شدند بر فلک از مغزش بنی شیبان
طلوع بودش چون نجم و نجم نام ویش غروب باشد آرمے پس از طلوع بدان

This Najmu'd-Dīn had been in prison, along with the poet himself, in the fort of Nāi. Thus he (pp. 518-519) says:—

بدہ انصاف آن چه می بینی من نه گفتم تر ا به قلعه نامے
مژدها دادمت به قوت دل وعدها کردمت به صحت راپے
فالها مے که من زدم دیدی که چگونه تمام کرد خدامے
رتبت بو حلیمیاں بر کش افتخار زر یریاں بفزائے

Rūnī refers to this Abū Ḥalīm Najmu'd-Dīn in his diwān (pp. 27-28):—

به جنگ شیر عرب نجم دین و صدر جهان چو شاخ معجزه هم اژد هاوهم خشب است
موافق آمد بار اے طبع کنیت او که حلم او که قدرت قوی تر از غضب است

renounced all allegiance to him. When this news reached Ghaznīn, Bahrām Shāh at once left for India with a large force. He defeated and captured the Viceroy in Lahore on (Saturday) the 27th Ramaḍān,¹ A.H. 512 (11-1-1119). This was probably the first time when two Muslim armies came to a clash in the Panjab.

Bahrām Shāh, realising that Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm was an able and experienced man, forgave him and again put him in charge of India and returned to Ghaznīn.

(11) BAHRAM'S SECOND INVASION OF INDIA

After Bahrām Shāh's departure from India, Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm built a fortress at Nāgor (near Bhīra) in the province of Sawālik² (West Panjab). He then collected large armies, consisting of Arab, Persian and Afghān soldiers and defeated several hostile and insurgent Indian princes.³ These victories turned his head, so he again revolted against Bahrām Shāh and declared himself an independent ruler of the Panjab.

He then collected⁴ together a large number of Rānās, Thākurs and Chiefs of India from Bākaz (or Bākar?) and other places. Thus his army

Referring to his 'Kunya' "Abū-Ḥalīm" the same poet (pp. 49-51) says:—

از جهان آفرین هزار هزار آفرین باد بر سپه سالار
بو حلیم زریر شیبانی پیل صندار و شیر اتش کار

Rūnī praises him again on pp. 99-101, and then his son Zarīr (Muḥammad) on pp. 47-48 when he became the commander-in-chief in India under Mas'ūd III:—

ز کسب جاه پدر شاد باد و بر خوردار زریر نجم سپه پرورے سپه سالار
کند به خشم همه عتف ذاتش الا ظلم کشد به حلم همه رنج عرضش الاعار
نظام دولت محمودیان ملک مسعود که اختیار خدایست و افتخار بار

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd also refers to this Zarīr Muḥammad (b. Abū Ḥalīm) and his brother Rabī' on pp. 232 and 387 and also the former's two relatives (most probably the sons) p. 181:—

شاد باش ای زریر دولت یار دیرزی ای گزین سپه سالار
باز در مرغزار هندستان شاخ مردی سعادت آرد بار
پسر بو حلیم شیبانی سرکش و صندرویل و سردار
به 'شعیب و غضنفر این دو هژبر ده سپاه گران سبک بشمار
آن چنان دان که نصرت و فتح اند این عزیزانت بریمین و یسار

1. See also Principal M. Shafi's note on p. 58 of the 'Adābu'l-Ḥarb.'

2. For these details see 'Tabaqāt' (Cal. p. 24), Firishta (p. 50) etc.,

3. For Swālik see Professor Sherānī's note in the Oriental College Magazine, August, 1937, pp. 52-55.

4. From this sentence upto the end of the Viceroy I have followed the 'Adābu'l-Ḥarb' (pp. 45-47) and particularly its translation in the 'Islamic Culture,' April 1938, pp. 224-227.

consisted of seventy thousand horsemen of different nationalities, and a horde of foot-soldiers whose number exceeded a lakh or two. The news of the evil intention of Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm reached Ghaznīn and Bahrām, eventually, marched to India¹ in 513/1119, at the head of about ten thousand horsemen and crossed the Indus.

In the vicinity of Multan there is a village called Kīkyūr (?), surrounded by a very spacious prairie land. Muḥammad encamped there and flooded a portion of that prairie land, so that by remaining under water it may become a marsh and morass² wherein the army of Bahrām Shāh might sink. His (Muḥammad's) son Mu'taṣim, a mighty man who used to fight with a mace weighing forty maunds, said to his father, "Allow me to go and defeat the whole army of the Sultān with this scourge of mine."

"Be patient," replied his father, "till they (the Ghaznavide hosts) have crossed all the rivers. They have not so far crossed even one. They will hear of your arrival and fly. Let them cross the river Chandrāhah (Chināb). Then half of their army will be disposed of by the morass and the other half by us. Thus we will defeat and rout them all."

The writer of the *Ādābū'l-Harb* remarks that the Viceroy failed to think of his rebellion and ingratitude for which God would punish him, and grew haughty on the strength of his infidel irregulars, hence the divine aid forsook him.

Bahrām Shāh sent a messenger to him with the words: "Desist from your rebellious course and return to obedience, for you were brought up surrounded by our favours and you have been nurtured under our fostering care. We do not want to uproot the sapling which we ourselves have planted in the courtyard of our kingdom and nourished with the water of favours and kindness, for though you deserve to be supplanted, we do not deem it proper to supplant you due to our generosity and forgiveness. So take the robe of honour and wear it, for we give the whole of Hindustān to you and entrust you with the military command of the whole of Hind. Desist from your evil course and do not bring disgrace upon yourself, for your father (Najmu'd-Dīn Abū Ḥalīm) had rendered meritorious services to this kingdom and received favours befitting those services. We shrink from his shade!"

1. This date is found only in the article by Māulana Abū Zafar Nadvī in the 'Ma'ārif,' June, 1938, and it is most probably correct because after the first battle on 27-9-512 (11-1-1119) Bahrām would have taken some months to go back and come again from Ghaznīn for this second battle, when his viceroy had already built his fortress at Nagor.

2. The same Maulānā (*ibid.*) thinks that this morass would have been created near Multan because of the Sutlej and Jhelum or near Uchh (at Ghaghar) where the river disappears into a plain. Miss Shafī' (*Islamic Culture*, April 1938, p. 225, n. 5) thinks that Raverty's reading (Ṭabaqāt,) I, 110, n. 4) بری or بورنی may possibly be نورنی which is a name of the joint stream of the Byās and the Sutlej, thus locating the battlefield near the Ghāra MS. In Firishta (p. 50) it is زمین ججه and in ابوالغیر خانی نازینا بو الغیر خانی and in Firishta (p. 50) it is زمین ججه and in ابوالغیر خانی نازینا بو الغیر خانی (Bankipore f. 115 a) it is زمین وگزار.

When the messenger delivered this message, he (Muḥammad) replied thus, "What is the use of all this talk, for tomorrow my head will be either under the hooves of the horse of the Sultān or on the throne of the kingdom."

When the messenger heard these words he took them as good omen, for he (Muḥammad) himself had given utterance to such expressions. The messenger returned and repeated his words before the king, who said, "An omen is taken from something which has happened. Tell the army to mount their horses."

The drums were beaten and the army prepared for battle. The ungrateful Muḥammad-i Abū Ḥalīm spread his umbrella and attacked the centre. In the very first assault they overthrew him (and a) few of his sons had placed his head on the spear. It so happened that the tract, which he had flooded with water so that it should turn into a morass and engulf the army of the Sultān was visited by a wind-storm in which it is narrated, they saw riders wearing green apparels and riding grey horses who swept the whole army of Muḥammad in that direction, until they were all engulfed in that very morass, not one escaped.

One of his sons Ibrāhīm, who was desirous of serving the Sultān—and *سوروریان* (شیانان ?) are his descendants—escaped unharmed, while Muḥammad, along with his seventeen¹ sons, was slain in the battle.

In that tract upto this day, as the writer of the *Ādabū'l-Ḥarb* remarks when one digs a canal, or a reservoir, or a well, one finds, embedded in the earth, decayed skeletons of men and horses, rusty and torn armour, and coats of mail.²

We find some details of the battle in the opening line of a panegyric of Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī, who had himself come to India with Bahrām Shāh ;—

چون زغزنین کردم آهنگ ره هندوستان ز سپاه روم خیل زنگ می بستد جهان

And this poet was a horseman (or warrior ?), as we understand from a verse of the same panegyric :—

ادهم شب درتخیر کارمن چون زرازانک هم تگ او نقره خنکے داشتم در زیران

Bahrām Shāh crossed the Indian rivers (and particularly the Indus *vide* Sanā'i's verses, *infra*) in long boats, as is described in the same panegyric :—

1. From 'Tabaqāt' (Cal. p. 24) and Firishta (p. 50., l. 25) we know that his two sons were drowned in the morass, but Raverty (p. 110) has preferred 'ten' in place of 'two.'

2. Upto this sentence I have followed the 'Ādabū'l-Ḥarb, and its English translation, as mentioned above.

3. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 115b-q164,

بسته کشتیهای طولانی ز راه کهنکشان
راست روماند تیر و گوشه گشته چون کمان
پیش سلطان چون شد بر آب کشتیهاروان
دیدم خورشید را در جرم ماه نومکان
در پناه رایت منصور سلطان جهان
آن ظفر سیاه نصرت قدرت دولت توان

برتران آجا از آسمان سیاه او
درگزایش چون شهاب و درنمایش چون هلال
پیش موسی بحر قلزم گشت گوئی کوئے او
شاه را چون دیدم بر تخت درکشتی عروس
این چنین راه مرا خوش ترز برگشتن نمود
آفتاب دین و دولت ظل حق بهرام شاه

The poet Sanā'ī also gives some description about this battle in the following verses :—

راست ماتم سرای آدم بود
کار چون زلف یار خم در خم
ترك تزكان شعرده در دركات
زحمت گشته جان و دل همه را
شاه بهرام شاه رامشگاه
زه ره آموزا بر دربار کش
دشمنش بے سپر چون هامون بود
کز زمین پشت به زگر دون روى
كوه جودى بروسفینه نوح
زادن و مردنش بهم چو شرر
همچو دنبال كژدم فلک ست
جان به رشوت بذبرد اندر تن
آب را عزم شاه آب ببرد
هم بر آن آب نیست آب شون

لوهوورى ز بس اند در غم بود
جور چون دور چرخ دم دردم
از دل هندوان رمیده حیات
رحمتی بوده آب و گل همه را
کرد ناگاه زفر ناچ و كلاه
فند را آب ریخت بر آتش
عزم شه كامران چو گردون بود
خضم اگر داد پشت هیچ مگوئے
مهداو بر فراز پیل جموح
كرده فرزند خضم را به اثر
خضم در پیش گرزش از ملك ست
خضم زادش ز بیم آهرمن
مغز را حزم شاه خواب ببرد
با بدید آتش سنان سیحون

The following points are to be noted in these verses :—

(a) The tenth and twelfth verses show that one son of the enemy most probably Mu'taşim, about whom we have read in the 'Ādāb'u'l-Harb,' fell on the battle-field. His skill in mace-welding (Ādāb, p. 45, l. 13) has, perhaps, prompted the poet to mention his patron's mace in the eleventh verse, although the latter was skilled (*ibid*, p. 31, ll. 14-15) in arrow and spear.

(b) The river "Saiḥūn"² is definitely the Indus which Bahrām Shāh has to cross in order to reach the fortress of Nāgor (Sawālik).

The poet Sayyid Ḥasan again refers to the same attack and specially to the buttressed fort in a panegyric :—

1. Ḥadiqa, Lucknow ed., pp. 656-659.

2. Besides the Jaxartes, our Indus was also called "Saiḥūn." See the 'Zainu'l-Akhbār' (Qazvini ed. 69-70), and 'Muayyidu'l-Fuḍalā' (Lucknow ed., Vol. I, p. 499). But in Juwaini's 'Jahānkush' (Elliot II 390 and 393) "Jaiḥūn" stands for the Indus.

ز به روئق ملک از سرگرفته
برانده به لاهور فال سعادت
ز پیلان چون کوه تازان به هیجا
عدو همچو مه مهره برچیده از تو
بنامیزد این دز با پشتواره
بنامیزد این دز و این مملکت را
1 بحمد الله اکنون نه بیم ده بارے

به یک تاختن هفت کشور گرفته
بنام خدا و پیمبر گرفته
فضائے جهان شکل محشر گرفته
چو مردان ره آن جهان بر گرفته
به تائید و توفیق داور گرفته
سپرده به دیوار و در بر گرفته
مکان خداوند چادر گرفته

And the following panegyric also seems to have been written in India by the same poet :—

می بنا زد بازگویی خطه هندوستان
هم حریمش روشنائی می دهد بر آفتاب
آفتاب دین و دولت ظل حق بهرام شاه
خسروا هر کین سفر دریافت شد سیاره
برخورد شاهی که امروز از فراوان خلعت
منکران شرع را در هم شکن همچون عنب
2 تا بدین توفیق با کام دل و نام بزرگ

شکر حق گوید همی بسیار هستش جائے آن
هم زمینش سر فرازی می داند بر آسمان
آن که او چون یک فرشته آدمی نه دهن نشان
منت از در آید هستی خسرو سیارگان
نو بهار هفت رنگ آمد پدید اندر خزان
خستگان شراب را در هم فکن چون ناردان
سوئے دار الملک بر نابی به فیروزی عنان

The last verse clearly shows that the poet wrote the panegyric in India and that with that victory his patron would return to his capital Ghaznīn. In the fifth verse the poet mentions the season of *autumn* when the spring of victory appeared with all its seven colours. As the first victory of Bahrām Shāh had been effected on 27th Ramaḍān, 512 (11-1-1119; i.e., in winter) this *autumn* of A.H. 513 (21-9-1119-20-12-1119) would have been the time of the second victory only.

1. Br. Museum MS., No. 4514, ff. 125b-126a.

2. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 115b-116a. In the same MS. (ff. 9a-9b) we find another panegyric referring to this particular occasion :—

کشاد صورت دولت به شکر شاه دهان
خدا یگان سلاطین مشرق و مغرب
ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود
تبارک الله آن ساعت خجسته چه بود

چو بست زبور اقبال بر عروس جهان
علاء دینی و دین خسرو زمین و زمان
آنکه هست نامش بر نامه ظفر عنوان
آنکه بازگشت مظفر زغزو هندوستان

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (pp. 114-115) also refers to this defeat of the enemy :—

کوس ملک آواز نصرت بر نشید
فخر شایان جهان بهرام شاه
چون عروس شرم گین بدخواه شاه

کفر و شرک از هول آن سر در کشید
شد سوئے هندوستان لشکر کشید
سرز شرم شاه در چادر کشید

After the total collapse of these rebels, Bahrām Shāh appointed one Husain¹ b. Ibrāhīm 'Alawī as the Viceroy of India and went back to Ghaznīn. This Viceroy seems to have been loyal, because there is no record otherwise about him. The poet Sayyid Hasan has praised him in the following panegyric:—

گہ کند سوے من خستہ بہ رحمت نظرے	گہ دہد یار مرا از من بیدل خبرے
روز اقبال امیر ست نکو راہ برے	از شب زلف تو گمراہ نہ مانم کہ مرا
نیست در خطہ اسلام چواو نام ورے	آفتاب ہمہ سادات حسین آن کامروز
گرچہ از کوہ بود لعل بدان سر حجرے	نہ چوتو باشد ہر کو بود از نسل علی
گوئی از چشمہ خورشید آند آب خورے	آن چنان شیر علم سر بفرازد بہ مثل
سقرے نقد بینند وجہ سوزان سقرے	صف کفار چنان بر شکنی کز تیغت
شجرے کشتی نہمارو مبارک شجرے	ای کہ در موضہ ملک از پی سر سبزی دین
قدر خورشید کجا داند ہرے بصرے	چون توئی را چومنے شاید اگر بستاید

After this Viceroy, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr Qā'inī seemed to have been put in charge of India some time after 524/1130, because by that date Sanā'ī began to write his *Ḥadīqa*, (Lucknow ed. p.743) wherein he calls him an *assistant* to the vizier of Ghaznīn. The details about Muḥammad will be found in our separate article on the poet Sayyid Hasan, but here we quote one of his panegyrics in his praise:—

ہمت بر آن سعادت مقصور بودہ بود	عمر مرا ہوائے لہاور بودہ بود
زان پس کہ خود ز من چود لم دور بودہ بود	نزد یک تر نمودی از جان بنزد من
گوئی کہ آفتاب مگر دور بودہ بود	نزد یک نورنیک بدیع ست و بس عجب
این نکتہ بر ضمیر مستورہ بودہ بود	نی نی چنین بہ دفع لہاور یکے بود
در ہمت محمد منصور بودہ بود	دیدم کنون کہ خاصیت نور آفتاب
در مملکت بہ رادی مشہور بودہ بود	صدرے کہ ہر یک از پدر و جد و اوچون

Anyway, from the year 513/1119 upto 528/1134 Bahrām Shāh seems to have enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous reign and patronised the literati, as we shall see later.

(12) BAHRAM'S REVOLT AGAINST SANJAR

We have already seen above how Sanjar had made Bahrām Shāh, the king of Ghaznīn on the understanding that the latter should pay him one thousand dīnārs (gold coins) a day. Subsequently, Sanjar's name was also inscribed on the coins which were current in Ghaznīn and its vicinity

1. Firishṭa, p. 50.

2. India Office MS., ff. 43a.-44a.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 139 a.

though not on those of India. But the daily tribute of gold conis¹ was really too much for Bahrām to pay, because, as I think, he could not expect so much income every day from a poor province as Ghaznīn, or even from Upper India. Moreover, all the treasures of his ancestors had been taken away by Sanjar in 510/1116. So he stopped paying it in 529/1135. From Ibn-Āthir (Vol. XI, 1303, p. 11) we summarise here the accounts of this affair:—

"In the month of Dhīl-Qa'da A.H. 529 (August, 1135) Sanjar left Khurāsān (Merv) for Ghaznīn, on hearing about Bahrām's non-payment of tribute and the renunciation of his allegiance. On the way a few months were spent. The winter season had set in and the snow began to fall. The army expressed their difficulties therefrom but the Sultān preferred to proceed. When Ghaznīn approached Bahrām got frightened and sent a messenger apologising for his disloyal conduct. Sanjar then sent his attendant Jauhar² (who had been raised to the position of the governor of Ray) with a reply asking Bahrām to come personally and pay homage. Bahrām then proceeded to the camp of Sanjar with Jauhar. Sanjar on his own part advanced with his army to meet him but Bahrām ran away out of fear,³ to some place with a group of attendants. Sanjar then marched to Ghaznīn, stayed there for a few months and took possession of all the treasures of Bahrām. At length, Sanjar knew of Bahrām's hiding place and he wrote to him censuring his ill-advised act and re-affirming his offer of mercy. He maintained that his sole aim was

1. Besides this tribute, Bahrām seems to have sent his eldest son Daulat Shāh as a hostage to the court of Sanjar, as is suggested in the following lines (specially the 7th one) of Sanā'i who wrote them in 524/1130 when Daulat Shāh had already come back:—

باز بر دولت دو عالم شاه	شاه و فرزند شاه دولت شاه
آن چو خورشید چرخ را در خورد	وان چو بدر فلک سفر برورد
از پے قبر خویش و بد خواهان	بنده شاه و خواجه ناهان
رنج دیده چو یوسف از پے ناز	در غریبی و باد شه شده باز
چون سیاوش رفت ز آفت نو	آمده باز همچو آیه خسرو
گرچه بسیار سال بر نشمرد	نبود هیچ طفل بخرد خرد
چون بدانست بندگی کردن	بس بدانست بنده برور دن

These lines are in 'Hadiqa,' (Lucknow ed., p. 626-628). In the Bombay edition (p. 324) the 7th verse has دند in stead of دنگی, but the latter expression is to be preferred in view of second hemistich.

2. One Mihtar Jauhar was the Atābak (Lt. "Father Prince") of Bahrām also. See 'Adābu'l-Harb,' p. 4.

3. According to Jahānkusha of Juwainī, when Bahrām fled before Sanjar at this time, the latter remarked to his staff, "There is a back whose face one will not be able to see again." But from 'Rauḍatu's-Safā' (Vol. IV, 1915, p. 126) we know that it was said about Atsiz by Sanjar.

to reclaim Bahrām to his allegiance. Bahrām then offered apologies and was again entrusted with the charge of Ghaznīn. Sanjar then returned to Balkh in the month of Shawwāl, 530, (July, 1136)."

GHULAM MUSTAFA KHAN.

(To be concluded)

Muḥammad 'Awfi (Lubāb I, pp. 281-282) writes that one Fakhrū'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad, of Nīshāpūr could win Sanjar's mercy for Bahrām Shāh by reciting this quatrain:—

گر آب دمی نهال خود کاشته ورپست کنی بنا خود افراشته
من بنده همام که تو پنداشته از دست میفگم چو بر داشته

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Doctor of Laws conferred on the Prime Minister of India :

ADDRESSING the Special Convocation of the Osmania University held on 26th December, 1948, to confer the Degree of Doctor of Laws on him, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the language controversy in India and said, "A language is not a made-to-order business, nor can it be made by statute. A language grows though it can be helped to grow in a particular direction by educational methods." The Prime Minister added "The protagonists of Hindi and Urdu are always thinking in terms of limiting and not expanding it. This is a dangerous thing." Proceeding further he said, "For my part I think there is no need for State action in the matter. I am quite sure that out of the masses of India a real language will arise."

Earlier welcoming the Prime Minister, the Vice-Chancellor Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur said, "This is a day which will be remembered by all of us and we are deeply indebted to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of India for including a visit to this University in his crowded programme. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has done us twofold honour in both coming himself and bringing with him his distinguished sister, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, India's Delegation to the United Nations for three successive years and led it with shining ability and brilliance. We extend to both Pandit Nehru and Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit our warmest welcome."

The Vice-Chancellor, referring to the history of the University said, "This University, established in 1918, has the distinguishing feature of imparting instruction in all branches of learning through the medium of an Indian language. Its position is, therefore, different from that of other Universities in India which have English as their medium of instruction."

Proceeding further to the language problem in the State, he made an important announcement to the effect that "With India now independent, the problem of a national language is assuming some degree of urgency and we in this University have felt that, in the changed conditions, an

early adjustment is needed if University teaching is to fulfil the national requirements.

"As a multi-lingual State, with four major languages, each with a great literature and tradition of its own, including a State language spoken and understood by most, the question of medium of higher instruction has provoked much thought and controversy. Looking back, however, the experiment of adopting the medium of a principal Indian language has been of value to all India as it has proved beyond doubt the capacity of Indian languages, given facilities and encouragement, for use as the vehicle of advanced teaching and learning. We are proud that the experiment was tried and found successful in Hyderabad.

"But we translated even such scientific and technical terminology as is internationally used and understood and the language which developed as a result was not in all cases as simple as it might otherwise have been. Greater stress might also have been laid on the development of the regional languages.

"And now we must not only simplify but change and any such change must take account of the future. To adopt English would mean going back on principle which has been our distinguishing feature and which we hold dear ; we would be adopting what the Indian Universities have been asked to discard in the near future. On the other hand, the adoption of Hindustani would preserve the feature while making the change both practical and national. It would be a change in accordance with the wishes and constant advice of Mahatma Gandhi. The University Council has accordingly decided to recommend the replacement, from the next academic year, of the medium of Urdu by Hindustani with both the Persian and Devanagri scripts.

"A further adjustment is on the anvil. We have proposed that, as soon as the teaching and financial requirements permit, our three Colleges in Warangal, Aurangabad and Gulbarga should have parallel classes in the Telugu, Marathi and Canarese media. We hope to develop those institutions in good time into Degree Colleges. The Osmania University will thus be the pioneer also in the experiment of introducing the regional languages as media of University instruction and will be giving effect, perhaps earlier, to what the Indian Universities have been asked to do within five years. In both these undertakings, which will be of national interest to the country as a whole, we naturally look to the leaders of India and, in particular, to Panditji for support."

It is more than doubtful, indeed, if it be possible in this generation, when the burden of our Sovereign Indian Republic, and of office have incalculably grown, for any Prime Minister to discharge the duties of his high post with the same thoroughness or in the same spirit as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Imbued as he is with the teachings of Mahatmaji, he would never take a step in public life without reflecting how would Mahatmaji have thought of it. For with him those pious words are a living truth. One cannot help to admire his glowing and singleminded

faith and to marvel at all that it achieved.

The Visit of the Deputy Prime Minister Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel :

On 26th February, 1949, the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India delivered the Convocation Address. The degree of the Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him,.

The Vice-Chancellor recalled the valuable services rendered to India by the Sardar and paid him a glowing tribute. Sardar Patel will go down in history as one of the Makers of Modern India—an India strong, united and closely knit. His achievement in this respect can be compared with that of Asoka and Akbar.

Obituary—The Death of Srimati Sarojini Naidu :

One of the greatest daughters of India, Her Excellency Srimati Sarojini died on 2nd March, 1949. May her soul rest in peace.

Tributes to Mr's. Sarojini Naidu have come from all parts of the world—people have spoken of her superb poetry ; have praised her oratorical ability ; have admired her great services to the country ; have chronicled her life from every angle and have mourned her death.

Her "Prayer of Islam," is still fresh in our minds :—

"We praise Thee, O Compassionate !

Master of life and Time and Fate

Lord of the labouring winds and seas

Ya Hameed ! Ya Hafeez !

Thou art the Radiance of our ways

Thou art the Pardon of our days

Whose name is known from star to star

Ya Ghani ! Ya Ghaffar !

Thou art the goal for which we long.

Thou art our silence and our song

Life of the sun-bearer and the seed

Ya Wahab ! Ya Waheed !

Thou dost transmute from hour to hour

Our mortal weakness into power,

Our bondage into liberty.

Ya Quadeer ! Ya Quavi !

We are the shadows of Thy light

We are the secrets of Thy might

The visions of Thy Primal dream

Ya Rahman ! Ya Raheem !

Though dead Sarojini Devi will always live in the hearts of millions of her fellow-countrymen.

Late Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur :

Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur died the same day as Mrs. Naidu. He was the grandson of the Great Salar Jung, founder of Modern Hyderabad. Invested in 1912 with full powers to administer his large estate, Nawab Salar Jung was able to create order in the management of his Jagir and to pay off the large debt which he had inherited. At the young age of 23, he was called upon to bear the burden of Prime Ministership. He resigned after two years. A most lovable personality, he was a famous collector of Art treasures and of books and manuscripts. His sudden death has deprived Hyderabad of a great cultural figure.

The Hyderabad Government Bulletin on Economic Affairs of December, 1948 contains useful articles such as :—

The financial structure of Hyderabad State by L. N. Gupta, Esq.,
Financial Secretary, Hyderabad-Dn.

Taxation in Hyderabad by Dilsukh Ram, Commissioner, Income
Tax.

Looking Ahead by M. G. Lakshminarsu.

Banking Structure in Hyderabad by B. V. Ramnarsu.

The Co-operative Movement in Hyderabad by Madhava Rao
Anwari.

Irrigation in Hyderabad State by Abdul Qayyum Khan.

Scheme for the Agricultural Development under the Irrigation
Projects in Hyderabad by M. Gopalan.

The Food Problem of Hyderabad by K. I. Vidyasagar.

Land Tenure in Hyderabad by I. Ramachander Rao.

Cottage Industries and their Role in Hyderabad by Dr. R. V. Rao.

The National Income of Hyderabad by S. Kesava Iyengar.

Places of Historical and Archæological interest in Hyderabad by
Prof. D. Hanmantha Rao.

The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad by Dr. Baron Christoph Von
Furer Haimendorf.

The Contribution of Hyderabad to Telugu Literature by Prof.
Lakshmi Ranjan, K.

The Contribution of Hyderabad to Kannada Literature by Prof.
D. K. Bhimsen Rao.

The Contribution of Hyderabad to Marathi Literature by Prof.
R. M. Bhusari.

* The Contribution of Hyderabad to Urdu Literature by Prof. Abdul
Qadir Sarvari.

The Hyderabad Government Bulletin on Economic Affairs, January, 1949, contains many important articles. It gives in detail the proceedings of the All-India Economic Conference (thirty-first session) and the All-India Agricultural Economic Conference (ninth session) together with the summary of papers read and discussed.

An Article on the History of the Hyderabad Co-operative Dominions Bank Ltd., is interesting. There is another article entitled "A Bird's Eye View of the thirty-five years of Co-operative in Hyderabad State." There is a short note on post-war labour disputes in Hyderabad and their settlements. This Bulletin is full of facts and figures and should prove useful to students of Economics, Commerce and Sociology.

The Hyderabad Academy arranged the Annual Lectures Series as usual. The first lecture of the Hyderabad Academy Series was delivered by Dr. Qāri Kalimullah Qādri on *Futuḥ-al-Haramain*. It was followed by Prof. Abdul Qādir Sarwari's lecture on the *Ghazal of Hasrat Mohani*. Prof. A. R. Khan read a paper on the Scientific Achievements of Al-Biruni's Age.

"The Five Pillars," a quarterly published under the distinguished patronage of His Exalted Eminence Maulāna 'Abdul 'Alīm Ṣiddīqī Al-Qādri, Makki Publication No. 43 published at Durban, contains among other articles, one by Prof. Muḥammad 'Abdur Rahmān Khān, on 'The Muslim Share in the Advancement of Science.'

For the interest of our readers we give a few extracts from this learned paper limiting ourselves to anatomy, manual labour, medicine and zoology, though there are other important aspects discussed in the paper.

Zuhrawi was the greatest investigator of his time in anatomy. A number of important facts were recorded for the first time in his famous book *al-Tasrif*, the surgical part of which was published at Venice in 1497, at Basle in 1541, and at Oxford in 1778. Ibn-al-Nafis (d. 1288-9) besides writing on *Hadith*, on eye-diseases and diet in his *Sharḥ Tashrīḥ-e-Ibn-Sina* has clearly pointed out the function of the heart in the circulation of blood. Muslim physicians were experts in the diagnosis and treatment of eye-diseases. Ṣaḥāḥ-al-Din ibn Yunus's "Nur-al-Uyun" was consulted by medical practitioners for centuries after its author's death.

Manual labour being cheap and beasts of burden easily available, not much attention was paid to mechanical devices in the Middle Age. All the same Badi'-al-Zaman Al-Jazare (probably in 1205 or 6) discussed the technique of hydraulic apparatus, clepsydras, fountains, etc., in his *Kitab Ma'rifatal-Handasah*. Ridwān-al-Sa'āti and his father Rustam designed, perfected and described the water clock on Bar-al-Jayrun in Damascus. The Arabs purified nitre and had a large share in the manufacture of gunpowder. They utilised the magnetic compass in navigation. Ibn-Majid navigated Vasco-da-Gama's ship to India.

'Abu-al-'Abbās al-Nabi, Al-Ghatwigi and Ibn-al-Baytars' treatises on medicine are full of important descriptions of plants. Many Muslim physicians travelled all along the coast of Africa, Syria and the Red Sea in search of medicinal and other herbs. It would be no exaggeration to state that scientific agriculture, started by the Arabs in Spain, spread all over Europe. Ibn-al-Awwami's *al-Filaha* is full of most significant facts concerning the importance of soil and manure in horticulture.

Al-Asmai's book on the camel and the horse is a proof of Arab interest in zoology. Many such works were written in the 12th and 13th centuries. The theologian Al-Nazzam (d. 845) expressed views containing the germs of the theory of Evolution. Ibn Tufayl's *Hay-ibn-Yaqzan*, a pseudoscientific romance on evolution (translated into many modern languages) is still read with much relish. 'Utarid's *Lapidacy* and Al-Tifashi's *Jawāhir-al-Afkār* reveal Muslim interest in mineralogy.

In spite of the Jabir-Geber controversy, Jabir ibn Hayyan was undoubtedly the greatest investigator in pre-renaissance chemistry. Muslim chemists distilled ammonia, concentrated acetic acid from vinegar, prepared a number of the more important acids and other useful pure substances.

The Indian Historical Records Commission's Silver Jubilee session's brochure of papers contain 38 papers contributed by eminent scholars from all over India, England, America and the United States.

Every contributor to this session has been introduced to the reader, with a note on his works in the field of Indian History. In the footnote to the article the *Amir-ul-Akḥbār* by K. Sajanlal, we find the following notice. "Mr. K. Sajanlal, F.R.S.A. has distinguished himself by his original research on topics connected with the history of Indian periodicals. He has collected the files of number of important periodicals on the early 19th century and took active role in the survey, etc." One interesting aspect of this paper deserves our notice.

The *Amir-ul-Akḥbār* took great pains in reporting Indian news faithfully. It strongly disapproved of the publication of news based on mere hearsay and on several occasions corrected false and fabricated news published by the *Khulāṣat-ul-Akḥbār*. Its local contemporary *Subḥ-i-Ṣādiq* supported its policy.

The paper deals at length with the action taken by the Government of India against the Indian newspapers under Act XV of 1857. It was on June 29, 1857, that the editor of *The Friend of India* was warned against "repetition of remarks of the dangerous nature of those in an article of 21st June called the Centenary of Plassey." On 31st July, the Government took necessary steps to bring to trial the editors of several newspapers of Calcutta. In its issue of 13th August 1857, the *Amir-ul-Akḥbār* reports the trial of Munshi Aḥmad 'Alī of Durbān, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad of *Sulṭān-ul-Akḥbār*, Babu Sham Sunder of *Samachar Sudhabarsan*, and the editor of *Gulshan-i-Naubahār*. The first two editors pleaded guilty and were discharged. Babu Sham Sunder was tried, but the court happily gave a verdict of 'not guilty.' Only the press at which *Gulshan-i-Naubahār* was published was confiscated.

Issue No. 4 of the *Amir-ul-Akḥbār* dated 25th September, 1856, contains a vigorous defence of the Nawab of Oudh. While admitting the Nawab's maladministration, it emphasised that the administration of the East India Company, particularly in Bengal was no better.

Nature (London), August 21, 1948 (Vol. 162, No. 4112, pp 289-90)—*News and Views*—Cosmic phenomena of the past in a paper "Further References to Cosmic Phenomena in the Kitab-al-Muntazam of Ibn-al-Jauzi and a few in Tarikh-e-Rahat Afza, (India) a" reprint from *Islamic Culture*, April 1948, Mohd. Abdur Rahmān Khān provides a short account of thirteen fireballs from A.D. 983 to A.D. 1031; three comets from 974 A.D. to 1056 A.D., a comet in A.D. 1741, a detonating fireball in A.D. 1742 and another one in A.D. 1757 and an earthquake at the same time (it is conjectured that the earthquake may have been due to the impact of a large meteorite with the ground) and a slight earthquake in A.D. 1759. The information is additional to that published by the same author in his brochure "Meteoric showers past and present" some of which was discussed in the *Islamic Culture Magazine* 20, 4, 1946.

K.S.L.

DECCAN

Publication of Dā'imu'l-Islām :

IN the time of al-Mui'zz, the fourth Fatimid Caliph of Egypt (A.H. 4th century/A.D. 10th century), there was no regular text-book of law for the use of the judges and the people. He therefore commanded the foremost jurist of the age, Qāḍi Nu'mān to compose a work under his direction. Thus the *Dā'imu'l-Islām* (Pillars of Islam), one of the earliest texts of the Muḥammadan law extant, came to be written. It is therefore of fundamental importance from the point of view of the historical study of Islamic Jurisprudence; further, it represents a significant fusion of Sunnite and Shi'ite principles.

The Arabic text of the *Dā'imu'l-Islām* has been edited by Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee, the first volume of which is now going to the press, and will be out in the course of 1949. The complete work will be in five volumes—Volumes I and II, Arabic Text; Volumes III and IV, English Translation; Volume V, Introduction, index, glossary, etc., and will be published by the Oxford University Press (Oxford House, Apollo Bunder, Bombay 1), for the Islamic Research Association (Town Hall, Bombay 1).

The work will take about five to six years to complete and the Association is grateful to an anonymous donor, for having generously donated the sum required for printing the first volume. It is also hoped that State help and donations will be forthcoming for the completion of the work.

A. A. A. F.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Language Problem :

AN All-India Hindustani Convention was held on the 30th and 31st October, 1948, in Lucknow under the Chairmanship of Pundit Sunder Lal, who is reputed to be a true follower of the late Mahatma Gandhi.

The President of the Reception Committee was Pandit Kishun Prasad Kaul. In a printed brochure he gave a learned discourse on the question of *lingua franca* of India during the course of welcoming the delegates of the Convention. In advocating the cause of Hindustani he stated that Hindi, overstuffed with Sanskrit words, can be a language of a few and not of the people of the country. The President of the Convention Pundit Sunder Lal made an appeal to the Indian National Congress and members of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly not to abandon Mahatma Gandhi's solution of the language problem and to make all endeavours towards the adoption of Hindustani written in Urdu and Nagri scripts as the *lingua franca* of India. The last session of the Convention was presided over by Dr. 'Allama Sayyed Sulaiman Nadvi, who delivered a very scholarly address. The points made by him on this occasion were : Before the opening of the Fort William College in Calcutta the language spoken and used in the North was one and was known as Hindustani. It was the Fort William College which naturally differentiated Hindi and Urdu by introducing two forms of Hindustani—one Sanskritised and the other Persianised and thus breaking India's cultural unity as represented by Hindustani. A study of Hindi and Urdu shows that verbs and prepositions are common in them. The Nouns in the two languages, however, differ because of the unnecessary emphasis on Persian in the one case and on Sanskrit in the other. The development of Hindustani is the development of India's common cultural heritage in which all foreigners, who were assimilated here, have contributed as much as the Indians themselves. The Bihar Government's Hindustani Dictionary Committee appointed under Maulana Azad's chairmanship during the first Congress Ministry, have testified to the fact that Urdu and Hindi contain about 90 per cent. words which are common to both. Even today 20,000 Maharashtrians alone are busy propagating Hindustani in the South. Hindustani is an independent language not governed by Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian grammars. Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian words in Hindustani have lost their original meanings. So if there can be one national language for the whole country it is Hindustani written in both scripts as both of them are India's common cultural heritage. It is Hindustani alone which can serve the purposes of *lingua franca* in a country of diverse races, languages and climes.

A resolution urging the people and the government to make Hindustani the national language of India in accordance with the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi, was adopted. Moving this resolution Dr. 'Abdul-'Alim of the Lucknow University pointed out that State enforcement of only one script, Nagri, would mean that India was to lose the other half of the very rich common historic, literary and cultural tradition contained in Hindustani. The other half was represented by Urdu. Dr. 'Alim, however, stressed that those who stood for Hindustani, should also learn the Nagri script, if they were true to their professions.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Sri Niwas Lahoti of Hyderabad-Deccan and Khwaja Ahmad 'Abbās. By another resolution the Convention decided to send a deputation to wait upon the President of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly and to represent the views of the Convention to him.

Just after the session of the Hindustani Convention a heated debate was held on the language controversy in the Indian Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, in the first week of November, 1948. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, in the course of a speech in the Assembly, warned against a language imperialism developing in the country. He observed "There were no doubt certain areas the U.P., C.P., and Behar which spoke Hindi. But what about other areas? What about the level of education that they had attained, what about the idea of freedom that everyone wanted. The hatred in the South for the English had gone. Today if he was to be compelled to learn Hindi, to come and express himself in the Assembly, he might not be able to do so. In their anxiety to wipe out English from the country they should also recognise that there were a large number of people all over India who did not understand the Hindi language. This kind of intolerance made one fear that a strong centre-- a Hindi Centre-- might develop. On behalf of the people from the South he would utter a warning. There were already elements in the South wanting separation. It was up to the Assembly to see that these elements did not succeed." But another honourable member Mr. Jai Narayan Vyas pleaded the cause of Hindi as the national language of India and said that it should be recognised as such though the change over may be slow and gradual. If a decision on this is not taken immediately, he claimed, the demand for linguistic provinces would soon turn into a demand for linguistic countries. Mr. Lala Raj Kunwar also supported the plea for adoption of Hindi as the national language. The adoption of Hindi, said he, need not be to the disadvantage of Urdu. Urdu, he added, had certain special characteristics and they would do well to support it. Mr. Zahirul Hasan Lari criticised the suggestion that Hindi in Devanagari script should be the national language. "We stand for Hindustani in two scripts," he said. He also proposed the retention of English for some time to come. Begum I'zāz Rasūl contended that Hindustani in Devnagari and Urdu scripts should, for at least ten or fifteen years, be the language of the country. The ultimate goal could be Hindi in Devanagari script. The heat and passion in the debate were, however, subdued by the statesmanship of the Prime Minister of India, Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who delivered a masterly speech on the occasion. He observed that it was obvious that any country, much more so a free and independent country, must function in its own language, Unfortunately however, the very fact that he himself and many other members had to address in a foreign language showed that there was something lacking. Let us recognise it, he said, but in trying to press for a change and immediate change they should not get wrapped up in

numerous controversies. Language, he argued, is and has been a vital factor in the life of an individual as well as of a nation. Because it is vital we have to give it further thought and consideration. But if we proceed in an urgent manner to impose something, may be by the majority, on an unwilling minority in parts of the country or even in this House, we do not really succeed in what we have started to achieve. Powerful forces are at work in the country which will lead to the substitution of English language by an Indian language or Indian languages in so far as different parts of the country are concerned. Any attempt to impose something on an unwilling people has usually met with the strongest opposition and has actually resulted in the very reverse of what the promoters wanted.

While the session of the Constituent Assembly was going on, a deputation on behalf of the Hindustani Convention arrived in Delhi on the 24th November, 1948, to submit a memorandum to the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Deputation led by Pandit Sunder Lal, President of the Convention, consisted of Moulana Sulaiman Nadvi, Pandit Kishan Pershad Kaul, Dr. Zakir Hussain Khān, Maulana Hifzur Rahman, Qadi 'Abdul Ghaffar, Sayyed Mas'ūd Hassan Raḍavi and Dr. 'Alim of the Lucknow University. While presenting the memorandum to the President, the members of the Deputation urged that Hindustani being the only language understood all over India and "not overloaded with abstruse words from Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian," should, as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, be adopted as the *lingua franca* of India. The Deputation reminded the President that Mahatma Gandhi had always said, "Hindustani should be written in both Nagri and Persian scripts," and he had envisaged that "in the future only the easier and more suitable of the two scripts will generally prevail." The Deputationists said that "to thrust a language or a script by political or legal pressure would be a very unwise step." The memorandum reminded the President that "in reality neither the Urdu character nor the Urdu form or the same language is the exclusive property of the Muslims of India," and assured him that "Hindustani can have no quarrel with either Sanskrit or Arabic words." It pleaded that "the delicate plant of language needs a free and open atmosphere. If such an atmosphere is not available its growth is retarded and its span of life is shortened." The memorandum added, "If we really want to create a government of the people and for the people we should also have a language of the people as our State language." The Deputation expressed the hope that the members of the Constituent Assembly would advance the cause of Hindustani when the time for final decision arrived. The acting President gave the Deputation a patient hearing and assured the members that he would consider the matter.

It will not be out of place to quote here an extract from Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's Presidential address which he delivered on the 18th December, 1948, at the 55th Annual Session of the Indian National

Congress. He referred to the *lingua franca* of India in the following words "The national language is always the product of a natural evolution under the influence of heredity and environment. The Congress under Mahatmaji's guidance has all along accepted Hindustani as it is spoken by the masses as the national language. Here, however, are two difficulties. The masses always develop dialects and there are many such. Yet we all know the language of the bazars of the cities of the North. We know, too, the language that is understood at public meetings by all and sundry. There is little doubt that this will be or become the national language and it is popularly known as Hindustani. We must evolve a language which is midway between Sanskritised Hindi and Arabic-Persianised Urdu. We are speaking such a language as a matter of fact. Only we carry on an unnecessary dispute about the name. Hindi—pure or admixed—may be the language of U.P., but it cannot be imposed as the national language of India. Such a language will evolve in due course, indeed is evolving itself and it will differ from a purely provincial language. Then arises the question of State language. There is an idea of revising a classical language of old if ever it existed as such—abounding in Sanskrit terms—but to go back to a thousand years or more ignoring the various influences, etymological and cultural, which have played a notable, yea, a noble part in evolving modern composite Indian nationalism would savour of Atavism."

Muslim University, Aligarh :

Dr. Zakir Husain, the Vice-Chancellor of the Jama' Millia, Delhi, has been elected as the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh, on the 29th November, 1948. Besides being an Old Boy of Aligarh, he is also an educationist of superb merit, and he is liked by all classes of people for the gentleness of his nature, the amiability of his temperament, and the sobriety of his views. His tenure of Vice-Chancellorship is likely to open an altogether new chapter of the Muslim University. The Governor-General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a special Convocation held on the 15th December to present him an honorary degree congratulated Dr. Zakir Husain on his being elected as the Vice-Chancellor and observed that "the undertaking of the responsibility by Dr. Zakir Husain should not be understood or interpreted as any kind of political or other challenge..... Dr. Zakir Husain's arrival at Aligarh is a re-union. In 1920 the Khilafat movement joined the Swaraj stream as the Jamna joins the Ganga and my dear old colleagues Maulana Mohammed Ali and big brother Shaukat Ali whose memory recalls unforgettable friendship and undying glory of vigorous action, disturbed the calm of Aligarh and raised the old issue of conservation *versus* revolution. 'Let us conserve' said the older authorities. 'We shall die if we do not move,' said resurgent patriotism. There was a parting of the ways. Now there is a re-union, and the

Jama' Millia has, through Dr. Zakir Husain's Vice-Chancellorship, rejoined Aligarh. Earlier in his speech, the Governor-General remarked very sagaciously "I thoroughly agree with you that Islam, which is your particular privilege to represent or the Vedanta which is the privilege of Benares particularly to represent, will not be a disabling factor, but a perennial source of inspiration in maintaining true values in human endeavour as well as in broadening the vision." The Governor-General addressed also the students of the University in their Union Hall. He exhorted them to be brave and not down-hearted for anything that has happened. During the course of his speech, he said "Islam was associated with the highest advancement of science in Europe. Muslim Universities and Muslim doctors of science saved science when otherwise Europe would have completely lost what had been gained for humanity by the Greeks. If Islam did not hinder but helped the progress of science in Europe, may it be a bright token to you for endeavour in India. Indeed no religion correctly understood, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism or other, ever hindered but always helped the progress of humanity."

All-India Oriental Conference :

The All-India Oriental Conference was held in Darbhanga (Bihar) on the 15th, 16th and the 17th October, 1948, under the chairmanship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar. The learned Chairman in his Presidential address referred to the *lingua franca* of India also, and observed "while the claim of Hindi has been supported by a large volume of public opinion, it has by no means been universally accepted and other alternatives are being freely discussed. It has been urged by a small section that Sanskrit should be the common cultural language for the whole of India..... The suggestion deserves careful consideration and should not be dismissed off-hand, as many are inclined to do. The complexities of Sanskrit grammar, idiom and syntax need not be an insuperable barrier. They may be simplified for the purpose of making Sanskrit a common colloquial language." As regards the script of the *lingua franca* he remarked that "there can be hardly any doubt that if there is to be an all-India script, Devanagari must be adopted for this purpose." It is to be much regretted here that in the Islamic Culture Section of the Conference no paper was submitted. In the Arabic and Persian section Dr. M. Zubair Siddiqi of the Calcutta University was nominated as the president, but he could not attend. Only two papers were submitted to the section. The first was entitled : *Sources of Firdousi's Shahnamah* by Mr. Jamshed Cawasji Katrak, B.A. According to the author one of Firdousi's sources was *Khudai Namah* or *Book of Kings* containing the history of ancient kings of Iran from the time of Gayomard down to the reign of Noshervan. It was written by a Zoroastrian nobleman Daneshwar Dehkan. Firdousi may have also utilised the translation of various Pahlavi books *Exploits of Zarir*, *Karnamah of Ardashir Babekan*, the *Andarz* or *Pand Literature*, *Madigani Chatrang*, and *Zarhosht Namah*.

Not only written records but oral traditions as remembered by Mobeds were searched for by Firdousi in the compilations of various 'Dastans.' Firdousi also incorporated one thousand couplets composed by Daqiqi in his *Shāhnāmah*. He got his narrative of Rustam's death from a book, containing history of ancient kings, which was possessed by one Azadsar of Merv, well-versed in ancient history of Iran. The sources of the narrative of Alexander were some Arabic versions of Greek or Syrian writings. He narrated the story of the game of chess on the authority of the records like Pahlavi *Madigani Chatrang*. The narrative of Burzue, the physician, was written on the authority of Shadan Burzin, who was one of the four translators of the prose *Shāhnāmah*. The history of Noshervan's invasion of Rum has been borrowed from *Nama-i-Pastan*. The story of *Khusrau* and *Shirin* is based on a 'Kuhan Dastan.' The second paper submitted was entitled: *Pandit's contribution to Persian Studies* by Dr. Banarsi Das Jain. This paper described at length the contribution of the Pandits to the Persian poetry, vocabularies, grammars and translations. The learned writer says that these pandits had two styles (i) the Munshi style, following conventions introduced from Persia with regard to metres, similes, etc., and copied in Persian script, (ii) the style following Sanskrit conventions, copied in Devanagari or allied scripts.

In the section of History, there was a large number of papers, for example "*Siraj-ud-Dawlah and the French*" by Mr. Krishna Kanta Mishra of Allahabad, "*The Conspiracy of 1757*" by Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, Patna College, Patna, and "*Diwan-i-Syed Raja*" by Mr. Syed Hassan 'Askari of Patna College, Patna. The last-mentioned is based on a rare manuscript which contains the poems lyrical or otherwise by Syed Raja, a mystic poet of Bihar, who flourished probably in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, if not earlier. This manuscript, written in 1098 or the 31st year of Aurangzeb's reign, now belongs to the Oriental Public Library, Patna. There are 551 lines including 8 lines of an Arabic poem and three ghazals at the end. These ghazals are unique, for the first line is in Persian, while the second is in Hindi. Syed Raja belonged to the Wajudia School of mysticism. In his paper Mr. Syed Hassan 'Askari deals with Syed Raja's mystical pantheism and his fusion of Hindu-Muslim thought. Syed Raja's Hindi verses along with their Persian counterparts were also reproduced in the above paper.

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In the Indian Linguistic Section there was a paper on *A Short History of Persian Vocabulary in Maithili Language* by Mr. Jayakanta Mishra, M.A., of the Allahabad University. Persian and Arabic words, assimilated in Maithili language from time to time have been grouped in this article under various heads.

Some Farmans of the Mughal Emperors :

The Journal of the Bihar Research Society in its issue of March and June, 1948, has published several Farmans issued to a Rathor Chief of

Marwar by the Emperor Aurangzeb and his successors. The first Farman is addressed to Rathor Durgadas. In 1680 A. D. Durgadas persuaded Prince Akbar to revolt against his father Aurangzeb, but the revolt ended in failure. Akbar fled to Persia and, some eighteen years afterwards wanted to return to the Imperial Court. In a Farman Aurangzeb ordered Durgadas to go to Sevastan, meet Prince Akbar there and bring him to Ahmadabad either *via* Jaisalmer or any other route which he considered suitable and from there escort him with Shuja'at Khan to the Imperial Court. This Farman is dated 10th Rajab, regnal year 42 (1110 A.H.), (i.e., 2nd January, 1699 A.D.). It bears the seal of the Emperor and Vazir Aṣaf-ud-Daulah. The Emperor's seal contains the year 1079 A.H. The second Farman is issued by Emperor Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur Shāh to Rathor Durgadas, whom he had addressed as the best among the kinsmen and relatives. It acknowledged his petition of allowing him to present himself to the Imperial Court soon after receiving the Farman. It is dated 17th Dhīqa'd, 1st regnal year (i.e., 29th January, 1708 A.D.). It bears the seals of the Emperor and the Vazir Aṣaf-ud-Dawlah. The Emperor's seal contains the year 1119 A.H. The third Farman also was written by Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and addressed to Rathor Durgadas. It states that Rathor Durgadas should present himself to the Imperial Court so that he might receive more Imperial favours. It bears an imperial seal which contains the names of the Mughal Emperors in genealogical order. It also has a seal of Vazir Aṣaf-ud-Dawlah, but its date is not clear. The fourth Farman is by Emperor Jahandar Shāh to Rathor Durgadas. It bestows upon Durgadas the personal rank of 4000, 3000 horse, and the title of Rao. It states also that Durgadas should be thankful for this favour, remain loyal and attend the court. It is dated 5th Rabi'-ul-Akhir, 1st regnal year 1124 A.H. (i.e., 2nd May, 1712 A.D.). The fifth Farman is written by Emperor Jahandar Shāh to Durgadas and is dated 1st regnal year 29th Dhīqa'd 1124 A.H. (i.e., 17th December, 1712). It asks the Rathor Chief to present himself unhesitatingly to the court, where he will be honoured with kingly favours.

The above Farmans are in the possession of the descendants of Rathor Durgadas in Marwar.

Builders of the Taj Mahal and the Delhi Fort :

The above Journal published also an article *The Family of the Engineers, who built the Taj Mahal and the Delhi Fort* by Dr. Sayyed Sulaiman Nadvi, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. This paper, originally written in Urdu, was read at the first meeting of Idarah-i-Ma'ārif Islamiyah, Lahore, and published in Idarah's first report 1935. Now after some more additions and necessary alterations an English translation of the paper has been published in the above journal. For the first time the names of the architects of the Taj and Delhi Fort, along with the history as well as literary and other contributions of their family have been

authoritatively told and described in this paper. The names of the builders of the Taj and Lal Qila were Nadir-ul-'Aşar Ahmad, and his brother Ustad Hamid. Nadir-ul-'Aşar Ahmad had three sons 'Atā'ullah, Luţfullah and Nūrullah. 'Atā'ullah was the author of numerous works. His three books on mathematics were *Beech Ganit*, *Khazinat-ul-A'adad*, and *Khulaṣa-i-Raz*. Luţfullah's works were *Şur-i-Şafi*, *Risala Khawaṣ-i-A'adād Sharah*, *Khulaṣat-ul-Hisāb*, *Muntakhab-ul-Hisāb*, *Tadhkira-i-Asman-i-Sukhan*, *Diwan-i-Muhandis*, *Sahr-i-Hilal*. Luţfullah's son Imam-ud-Din ar-Reyaḍi was the author of *At-Tasriḥ fi-Şarḥ-ut Tashriḥ*, (a commentary on Baha-ud-Din 'Amli's *Tashriḥ-ul-Aflāk*) *Sharha Khulaṣat-ul-Hisāb*, a booklet on Rhetoric entitled, *Bayania* and a *Dewan*. Khairullah, the second son of Luţfullah wrote *Taqrib-ut-Tahrir*, *Taşriḥ-ut-Tahrir*, *Haṣhiya bar Sharḥ Nāsir-ud-Din Ṭusi*, *Sharḥ Zich Muḥammad Shāhi*, *Şhraḥ Zulali wa Hafiz* was Sikandar Namah. Description of all these books can be found in the above article.

Iran Society, Calcutta :

We surveyed the various activities of the Iran Society in *Islamic Culture* of April, 1948. In the year 1947 only two public lectures could be arranged by the society. The first one was by Principal P. M. Mitra of the Mahisadal Raj College on Omar *Khayyam*, the Mathematician. The second one was by Dastur Dr. Hormazdyar Mirza, M.A., Ph.D. (London), High Priest of Paris, Udvada on *Ancient Iranian Literature* dealing with the Avesta Cuneiform inscriptions and the Pahlvi literature.

In the year 1948, *Indo-Iranica*, the quarterly journal of the Society, has published a good number of useful articles. They are (1) *Rabia' of Quzdar, the first Iranian Poetess of Neo-Persian* by Mr. M. Ishaque, M.A., Ph.D. (London), (January, 1948). This article along with *Qurrat-ul-'Ayn—A Babi Martyr*, and *Parvin-i-I'tisami, an eminent poetess of Modern Iran*, published in July and October, 1948 of the above journal, forms part of Dr. M. Ishaque's, book '*The Women Poets of Iran*,' which is a critical study of the lives and works of four eminent poetesses of Iran. According to Dr. Ishaque, the love poems of *Rabia' of Quzdar* have the depth and sincerity of their feelings. Her nature poems are rich in metaphors and similes and show her close study of nature. All her poems are characterised by a charming diction and spontaneous flow. The poetess *Qurrat-ul-'Ayn* was the author of *Tuḥfa-i-Ṭāhira*, which has been published by Isfandiyar Bakhtiyar and lithographed at Karachi in 1930. The poems of *Tuḥfa-i-Ṭāhira*, says Dr. Ishaque, are characterised by unity of thought and uniformity of style. They are interspersed with bombastic and unfamiliar Arabic lines and phrases, which however, do not disturb the spontaneous flow. As regards *Parvin-i-I'tisami*, Dr. Ishaque is of opinion that the most noticeable feature in her *Diwan* is the absolute lack of the Bacchanalian and amorous poems with which Persian poetry is replete. But she has not wielded her pen in the cause

of amelioration or uplift of her own sex. The Munazara (strife poems) form of poetry is her favourite composition. In her didactic poem she has exhorted people to be kind and pure-hearted and only to do good which will endure for ever. Other articles of the journal are *Pahlvi and its importance for the study of the Avesta* by J. M. Unwala, M.A., Ph.D., (January, 1938); *Influence of Persian on Bengali* by Dr. Tamonash Ch. Das Gupta, Calcutta University (April, 1948); *Sufi Movement in Bengal and Sufi Movement in India*, by Dr. In'amu-ul-Haq (July and October, 1948). These two articles are from Dr. In'amul Haq's work the *Sufi Movement in India* which the Iran Society has undertaken to publish serially in the *Indo-Iranica*. Two more articles are the *Vārena Country of the Avesta* by Dr. Muḥammad Shahidullah, *Maxims and Reflections of Ancient Iranians* by Prof. Dr. J. C. Tabadia, Santiniketan.

S. S.

EASTERN PAKISTAN

OUR most heart-felt felicitations go to His Excellency Sir Frederick Bourne, Governor of East Pakistan and the Chancellor of the University of Dacca on the appointment of Professor S. M. Husain, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca. No choice could have been more apt and judicious. The mantle of distinguished Vice-Chancellors like Sir Philip Hartog, Professor G. H. Langley, Sir A. F. Rahman, and Professor R. C. Mazumdar and M. Hasan has certainly fallen on worthy shoulders. Dr. Sirajul Haq, M.A., Ph.D. (London), distinguished Orientalist and Reader in Arabic and Islamic studies has succeeded him as Professor of Arabic and Islamic studies. We trust that under Dr. Haq the Department will continue to maintain the high standard of efficiency and scholarship it has achieved.

Our famous Bengali poet, Professor Maṣṣuruddin, M.A., E.P.E.S., Head of the Department of Bengali, M. C. College, Sylhet is too well known in East Pakistan to need any introduction. He has for the last 28 years been collecting ballads and folk-songs of Bengal mostly of the Muslims of East Bengal. His incessant and indefatigable labours in this direction for years have now yielded a rich harvest on which we can safely build up the edifice of the history of the Mediæval Bengali literature to which Muslim contribution was by far the best and largest.

Some of Professor Maṣṣuruddin's collections have already been published under the name of 'Haramani' (lost jewel) while others are in the press. The first volume of his folk-songs, 'Haramani' (lost jewel) with a foreword by late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and with a pencil-sketch of a *baul*, a Bengali folk-singer by Abanindranath Tagore, the famous Indian Artist, was published as far back as 1936. His second volume of 'Haramani' (lost jewel) was published by the University of

Calcutta in 1942 while the war clouds were still hanging over the horizon of Bengal. The third volume of 'Haramani' (lost jewel) which contains, among others, the marriage-songs of Dacca, Pabna and Mymensingh Districts and almost a complete collection of mystic songs of Lalan Shah Faqir of Nadia, who can fittingly be compared with Shah 'Abdul Latif Sindhi of Bhil, is already in the press. Dr. Amarnath Jah, Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Calcutta, have spoken very highly of the work done in this connection by Professor Maṣṣuruddin. It will not be out of place to recall in this connection the illustrious names of later Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen of Calcutta University and Professor Debendranath Shaytārthi, the former has collected and published ballads from East Bengal while the latter has done a splendid work on the folk-songs of the rest of India. The late Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and the talented modern French writer Romain Rolland paid a glowing tribute to the labours of these learned collectors of ballads and folk-songs.

Amongst other books on prose and poetry written by Professor Maṣṣuruddin, his folk-tales, 'Shirni' (sweetmeats), written in the dialect of Pabna District and his novel, 'First of July' published under the penname of 'Zarrin Qalam' (golden pen), which was very favourably reviewed by Mr. A. S. Roy, I.C.S., in his History of Bengali Literature and was later published by the Indian P.E.N., Bombay, deserve special mention here.

Mawlana Ghulam Maqṣud Hilali, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, Rajshahi Government College, East Pakistan, the celebrated author of (1) Al-Biruni (Bengali), (2) Madame Halida Adib Khanum (Bengali), (3) Islamic Ideal Character, (4) Iranian Philology, (5) Persian Arabic and Turkish elements in Bengali literature, approved for publication by the University of Calcutta and a contributor to the 'Mahammadi' and the 'Peace,' is engaged in writing a thesis on 'Reciprocal influence of Iran and Islam' for the Ph.D. of the University of Dacca. He has already made a considerable progress in his work and hopes to submit his thesis for the Degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in the course of this year. We wish him every success.

Mawlāna Abu Maḥfuzul Karīm al-Ma'ṣūmī, a distinguished Traditionist, has for the last few months, been carrying on his research work on critical study of Tafsir Ṭabari with a special reference to its etymological peculiarities, under the guidance of Professor 'Abdur Raḥmān Kashghari of Madrasa-i-Alia, Dacca. Mawlāna Ma'ṣūmī had already made sufficient progress in his work. His article on the importance of the study of Tafsir Ṭabari published in the October issue of *Ma'ārif* has been highly appreciated by Mawlānas 'Abdul Mājid Daryabadi and A. A. A. Fayzi of Bombay. It may, in passing, be stated here that Mawlāna Ma'ṣūmī's Arabic elegy on the late-lamented Mawlāna Ḥakīm Ḥabibur Raḥman Khān Akhunzada, Principal, Ṭibbia Ḥabibia College,

Dacca, who was justly regarded as the Ajmal Khān of Bengal, published in the *Ma'ārif* sometime ago was also of a very great literary value and was as such, very highly spoken of in all the literary circles here.

With the establishment of Pakistan, Bengali, our mother-tongue, has acquired an added significance. As a result of this more and more Islamic books from Arabic, Persian and Urdu Originals are now being rendered into Bengali and more and more original books on Islamic subjects are now being written in that language. Among the publishers who are taking keen and active interest in this work, the name of Hāji Maulvi 'Abdul Karīm Sāhib, Proprietor, Imdadia Library, Chaukbazar, Dacca, deserves special mention. Here we give a list of the recent publications of the Imdadia Library, Dacca, for the information and guidance of the readers of 'Islamic Culture' (1) Ḥadīth 'Arba'in, a collection of 40 traditions by Imam al-Ḥadīth Ibn Daqīq al-'Id rendered into Bengali from its Arabic original by Mawlāna Shamsul Haqq, Ṣadrul Muhtamim of the Ashraful 'Ulūm Madrasa, Bara Katra, Dacca. (2) Namazir Faḍilat (excellence of prayer) in Bengali by Mawlāna Shamsul Haqq Sāhib, referred to above. (3) Jazaul 'Amal (Karmafal) rendered into Bengali by Mawlāna Shamsul Haqq Sāhib, from its Urdu original by late Hakīmul 'Umma Mawlāna Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī. (4) Hajjir Masail (problems of pilgrimage to Mecca) in Bengali written by Mawlāna Shamsul Haqq Sāhib. (5) Darudir Faḍilat (excellence of Darud Sharif) in Bengali by al-Hajj Mawlavi Muṣliḥuddin Sāhib. (6) Haqqul 'Ibād (Rights of the servants of God) in Bengali by the late Mawlāna 'Abdul Hakīm, M.A., F.M., Senior Professor of Arabic, Anandamohan College, Mymensingh. (7) Islamir Adarsha (ideals of Islam) in Bengali by the same author. (8) Rāh-i Najat (Muktir Path) rendered into Bengali by al-Hajj A. F. M. Muṣliḥuddin from its Urdu original by His Holiness late Mawlāna Karāmat 'Alī of Jaunpur. (9) Rafiqul Wā'izīn (the friend of the deliverers of sermons) in Bengali by an experienced Mawlavi revised by Mawlāna 'Abdul Aziz. (10) Bihishti Ziur, Parts I and II (ornament of paradise) by late-lamented Hakīmul 'Umma Mawlāna Ashraf 'Alī Thānvi rendered into Bengali from its Urdu original by Mawlāna Shamsul Haqq.

FOREIGN

A. S.

EGYPT

H.M. KING FARUQ has been pleased to order the establishment in Egypt of a public school on the model of Eton where particular attention will be paid to social life and physical culture with a view to turning out 'gentlemen' and good citizens. The institution is to be located at Heliopolis, a modern suburb of Cairo, and its expenses are to be defrayed by the Royal Waqf for Education. The Principal of the College, whose selection is still pending, shall have wide powers to select his own staff

and shall be exempt from general rules of service regarding age of retirement, etc.

The Egyptian Ministry of Education has now before it the report of the Committee appointed in 1945 to consider ways and means of improving the standard of the teaching of Arabic in Primary and Secondary schools with special reference to syllabus and the problem of simplification of the rules of grammar. The report which was submitted by its President, Dr. Ahmad Ameen Bey, last year has since been discussed by the Arab Cultural Conference as well as by a Conference of Arabic Teachers and Inspectors called for the purpose in February last. Both have confirmed the main recommendations of the Committee adding only a few observations designed to give practical shape to the same.

The Committee observe that the main defect in the teaching of *Adab* is that the history of literature is taught at an early stage without the student having gained an adequate knowledge of literature itself on which the study of literary history ought necessarily to be based. Hence the Committee urge that a much greater portion of syllabus and time should be devoted to the study of the texts and that the history of literature be regarded merely as an appendage of the text. Similarly the Committee deplore that the present method of the teaching of *al-Balaghah* does not lead to the desired objective of developing in the student a taste for the appreciation of art and literature. This is because the *Balaghah* is taught as something different from literature which reduces it to sheer unfruitful labour. The remedy is to make *al-Balaghah* approximate to the modern art of literary criticism. *Badi'* is also to be taught incidentally during the study of the text. This recommendation, it must be noted, has offended some of the adherents of the old school of thought.

On the whole the report would amply repay a careful study by the educational experts of the governments concerned with popularising the study of Arabic. There is a great danger that the efforts of these governments may simply be wasted if the problem is treated in a sentimental manner and the antiquated modes in vogue at *al-Azhar* and some other institutions are copied in toto.

A new law has recently been promulgated bringing private schools and foreign institutions in Egypt, under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. It lays down that no institution shall be allowed to have co-education at the school stage though certain schools may be exempted from the application of this provision for experimental purposes. Similarly it will be obligatory on all institutions to arrange for the teaching of Arabic and to see that no student is taught a religion other than his own not even with the consent of the guardian.

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The Fatwa Committee of *al-Azhar* has given a ruling that injections of all kinds do not break a fast. This ruling is based on the verdict of the *Fuqaha* in regard to wounds of the brain and the belly. If any medicine

is applied to such a wound so as to reach the brain or the belly the fast is broken according to Abū Ḥanīfa but not according to Muḥammad and Abu Yusuf (*vide* al-Mabsuṭ, III, 68). The argument of the latter is that a thing in order to break a fast must enter the body through a natural aperture. This argument can very well be applied, in the opinion of the Shaikhs of al-Azhar, to injections as well and they assert that the view of the Ṣāhibain is to be preferred because of its convenience.

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The Arab world has hailed the decision of the Congress of Orientalists at its last session held in July to adopt Arabic as one of the languages in which papers can be read and discussion carried on. An attempt is also to be made at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt Arabic as one of its official languages.

S. M. Y.

Academy of Islam International was founded by Atia Begum in October, 1939 in the city of New York. The aims and objects of this society are :

- i. to preserve the heritage of Islam.
- ii. to establish, promote and cultivate literary and scientific relationship with the Islamic people.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objects, the scheme of the Academy is to build a mosque where, along with the five-time prayer, arrangement for lectures on letters and science will be made. There will be a museum to preserve Islamic Art ; a library where books will be kept and Islamic research will be carried on ; and there will be an employment bureau, reception centre, foreign department, etc. This Academy is for the time being maintained by a donation of estate valuing £ 16,500.00.

Among the prominent members of this Academy is Maulana Azad Subhani Rabbani who is working out a philosophy of Rabbaniyat which is explained in his brochure 'The Teaching of Islam in the light of the Philosophy of Rabbaniyat.'

Department of Scientific and Industrial Research : The Standing Committee of the British Commonwealth scientific official conference has arranged scientific and technical conferences for the whole year 1949. A list, containing title of the conference, name of convening body and place of meeting may be had from the British Council, 74—Eastern House, Hansingh Road, New Delhi.

M. A. M.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

MA'ĀTHIR-I-'ĀLAMGĪRĪ, translated into English and annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., Hon. D. Litt., M.A., I.E.S., (Ret.) *Bibliotheca Indica Series*; Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1947; pp. vii + 350; Rs. 10.

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR'S name is a household word among the students of the history of the Mughals in general and that of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr in particular, and however one may disagree with him in the conclusions he has drawn his monumental history of Aurangzeb will long remain unequalled in scholarship as well as in assimilation of historical material. It was for this reason that when his translation of the *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* was advertised, students of Medieval Indian history eagerly waited for the book to come out, especially as most of the *Ma'āthir* is a faithful record of the whole of the great Emperor's reign compiled by one who was mostly by his elbow. Although the record of the first ten years of the 'Ālamgīrī Age is only an abridgement of the 'Ālamgīrnāmah the rest of the book is an account of the happenings at the Imperial Court whether at Delhi or Akbarabad-Agra or in the Deccan as viewed by the author himself.

As Sir Jadunath Sarkar says in his Preface, the translation has been slightly condensed, and was compiled for his own personal use years ago in order to

be utilised for his History of Aurangzeb. It was laid aside for many years till "the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal agreed to print it," and then the translator was "greatly helped" in its revision by a certain professor appointed for the purpose by the Society, and finally the text was corrected by comparison with an old Persian manuscript. The condensation mentioned by the learned translator, though no doubt effected with a purpose, was not fortunate, as one would have preferred not to have had it at all in view of the fact that even now the translation covers 323 printed pages, and another 50 pages or so at the outside would have shot the mark and left the reader with the complete text in English. But one should remember that the original object of the translator was not the publication of the work, and he must have left out what he thought was of no use to him.

Sir Jadunath's subjective reasoning is also manifest in his remark that there is a "tiresome assemblage of minute names of persons and places in the course of every month's narrative of occurrences," a factor which is very differently interpreted by Elliot and Dowson who liken it to entries in the Court Circular or the London Gazette. The description, however, is much fuller and much more informative for the period of the Emperor's stay in the Deccan, and a student of the history of the Deccan is doubly rewarded by the details he gets from its perusal.

It is a great pity that the work which, according to the learned translator, fills "a long-standing gap of 51 years in the authentic sources of Mughal Indian history available in English," and with the name of no less a historian than Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the imprimatur of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on the title page, should have so cursorily been prepared. One is constrained to find the mishandling of many Persian words, a few examples of which might suffice here :—

p. 5 ; عرف translated as *alias*, though it means "title" here.

p. 5 ; سرعجز وندامت راستان دولت سود translated absolutely literally, and not even that, with the result that it ceases to make any sense whatever.

p. 11 ; The significance of بدع و مٹاهی has not been fully grasped.

p. 13 ; کلمہ has been translated as the Qur'ānic credo.

p. 17 ; خبر داری has been translated as 'custody.'

p. 23 ; مرخص شدند has been translated as 'dismissed.'

p. 44 ; استعداد هیچمدان has been translated merely as 'worthless fool,' thus divesting the epithet of the beautiful modesty of the compiler.

p. 90 ; دلو has been translated as 'basket.'

p. 206 ; اجازت نبود که موئے سر باز کنند has been translated as 'they were not allowed to cut the hair of their heads,' though the other meaning would have been apter and more correct.

p. 305 ; باطلاق کیت ابوالفیاض برآه خود بخاز بردن has been translated as 'had been' permitted to put away from himself the surname of Abul Faiyād,' which conveys no meaning at all.

As regards the printing, one fears that the apology of the renowned translator leaves one aghast when he says in his preface that "owing to the present difficulty of printing the translation has been printed with a bare minimum of the most

necessary diacritical marks, namely ā, ē and the apostrophe for 'ain.... Nor have I been able to maintain uniformity in the spelling of proper names throughout a long book full of such names. This is particularly the case with regard to the final h. This is a most extraordinary statement in the case of such an important work, and that from the pen of such a renowned author. If uniformity could not be attained it would have been far better not to have burdened the book with diacritical marks at all. The reviewer must point out that lack of uniformity exists not only with regard to the final h but with regard to most other sounds, and in many, if not in most of the cases the 'ain apostrophe has been put on an entirely wrong syllable. The only explanation which may be put forward is—it may be entirely wrong, of course—that the translation having originally meant to be for personal use, not much regard was paid to the phonetic correctness of the proper names, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar thought that the translation has been made more systematic during revision. Otherwise what explanation can there be for *I'nayatullah* and *Inayatullah* both occurring on the same page (v)? Then we have *Must'ad Khan*, *Shuj'a*, *Subhāi*, *Khāwand*, *āhal* (اهل) *Dilkasha*, *Ābul Fath*, *Radāndaz* (even Elliot and Dowson have *Ra'dandāz*), *bad'i* (بدیع), *Asfandiyar*, *Izid*, *'Azam*, *'Azamabad*, *Y'āqub*, and hundreds of other misspellings. An extremely poor show has been made of the transliteration of the Quranic verses and words, and one feels how much better it would have been had they been left out altogether. Thus : ان المساجد لله فلا تدع مع الله

p. 17 ; Innāl-masājīd-illa falāṭad'ūā ma'-allah.

p. 306 ; Fatihā Qaribā. فتحاً قريباً

p. 317 ; Sanqarek-falātansi, سقرک etc. If these Arabic verses and words could not have been left out they could at least have been shown to one of the Arabic scholars who, I suppose, abound in Calcutta and elsewhere.

There is an excellent glossary of technical words appended to the translation which is in the form of notes. The index *raisonne* at the end is very full and most helpful, and really forms the crown of the volume. There are certain matters about which the learned translator might have added footnotes, such as the position of the kings of Golconda and Bijapur in the eyes of the Mughals. As is well known, the Mughals never recognised the rulers of these two kingdoms as kings at all, and the word for their office used right through the *Ma'āthir* is *duniyādār*, while the titles by which they are addressed are simply Qutbu'l-Mulk 'Ādil Khān. Now in the translation before us we have the Emperor ordering some nobles to go to the country of 'the King of Golconda' or the envoy of 'the King of Bijapur' coming to the Imperial Court, etc., which would be entirely wrong from the point of view of the author of the *Ma'āthir* or of those for whom he speaks. It would have been more correct to keep the technique of the original and to add footnotes here and there which would have brought the reality of the situation before the reader. In the same way the words *ندوی* and *چیلہ* were used by way of humility by the highest nobles of the Court and the latter should not be translated as 'slave' as has been done. Moreover certain notes in the body of the book are rather misleading thus for instance, the Ḥanafī creed is said to be 'the Orthodox, Sunnī faith' although it is really only one of the schools of that 'faith' and the tarāwih are said to be 'twenty or more genuflexions after the last prayer of Ramzan' which, of course, means nothing. One also feels that fuller footnotes might have been added to such complicated matters as *dhāt* and *sawār*, and a note might have been added to the enthusiastic remark of the author of the *Ma'āthir* regarding the so-called 'demolition of the temples and schools of the infidels,' for as a matter of fact only very few of them perhaps only those whose trustees showed a recalcitrant spirit—were so demolished. Of course Shaikh Ganja on p. 302 means Nizāmī Ganjawī, which

might have been mentioned.

It has been mentioned above that the crown of the work is the index *raisonne* appended at the end of the book, but unfortunately it consists only of names of persons. How one wishes there has been an index of place names as well with indication of as many of their geographical position as possible. One is left bewildered as at the maze of Nūrmahal Bāgh, Haibatpurī Patī, Aghrābād, Rūpbas, Jahangīrnagar, Aghrābād, Samāwānī and hundreds of other place names the value of which would have increased manifold if notes had been appended regarding them.

One hopes and trusts that these suggestions would be considered if and when a second edition is brought out.

H. K. S.

IDEOLOGY OF THE FUTURE; by Muhammad Rafi-ud-din, M.A., Principal, S.K.S. College, Mirpur; printed at the Mangotra Printing Press, Jammu and published by the author; pp. 561.

THE very title of the book under notice excites one's curiosity, to know what it is—the Ideology of the Future.

The author, in the preface to this book, tries to explain it as follows: "The theory sketched in this book aims at being a complete and coherent philosophy of life, and a unified explanation of the Universe." He says, "It is 'Weltanschauung' which aspires to correlate all facts of existence. It is based on the hypothesis, which is, by the way, increasingly supported by the latest discoveries of Science that consciousness and not matter is the ultimate reality. As such it is fundamentally different from another 'Weltanschauung' which has been accepted as the final truth by millions of people in several countries, and is already threatening to encompass the whole world"—by which the author means the Dialectical Materialism of Marx.

Accordingly, to the author, the most satisfactory ideal is the Right Ideal and all other ideals which mark transitory phases in the history of man are only mistaken substitutes for it.

We are one with the author when he says that this is not an easy task to deal with such a subject. Indeed, we feel, that this is a huge task which cannot be done by any one or two persons. It can be accomplished only by gradual stages through the efforts of a number of men. Therefore the author in the present treatise "does no more than indicate broadly the lines on which it may proceed."

The book has 12 chapters which are as follows:—

- (1) Consciousness as the Ultimate Reality.
- (2) Creation and Evolution.
- (3) The urge of Instinct and the urge of Self.
- (4) The Growth of Self-consciousness.
- (5) Ethics.
- (6) The current theories of Human Nature—1 (McDougall).
- (7) The Current Theories of Human Nature—2 (Freud and Adler).
- (8) Resistance and Action.
- (9) Politics and War.
- (10) Marxism.
- (11) Education and Art.
- (12) Prophethood and Evolution.

The author is well read in his subject and has successfully conveyed his point of view. Each chapter is discursive, as well as instructive.

We feel the author has often given long quotations which he could have easily avoided. In spite of the errata, there are still many mistakes, due to indifferent and careless printing, which mar the quality of the book. The final proof should have been carefully revised and corrected before it was sent to the press. On the whole the book deserves great attention of scholars.

A short bibliography would have enhanced the value of the book.

We congratulate the author, for placing before the public such a useful and scholarly contribution. The printer, however, merits our censure for his

carelessness and indifference which is evidenced in almost every chapter.

K. S. L.

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO GEOGRAPHY; by Nefis Ahmad, M.A.; published by Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore; price Rs. 5/-.

THERE are many books on various aspects of the history of Geography but the history of the Muslim geographical thought has still to be written. The present volume which consists of articles published originally in 'Islamic Culture,' is a contribution to that study for which Professor Nafis Ahmad deserves our best compliments.

Muslim contribution to the science of Geography marks a definite stage in the history of geographical thought and knowledge. Its scope was amazingly vast and its effects were far-reaching. But its importance can best be realised if we compare and contrast it with the knowledge of Geography in our own times. With these remarks Prof. Nafis Ahmad proceeds with the appraisal and examination which forms the first chapter of his book, entitled 'General Survey.' It is gratifying to learn that the Arabic narratives of Muslim pilgrims are far superior to the Christian and their scientific value is much greater. Some of these are the 'Travels of Ibn-Jubair,' 'Guide book of Persian Al-Harawi,' 'Al-Abdari's (Abu Muhammad of Valencia) Accounts of Journeys through North Africa,' and 'Muhammad Ibn Rushaid's account of travels.'

Some of the Muslim travellers who have left behind geographical literature of far-reaching importance, such as Ibn Hawqal, Mas'udi, Maqdisi, Idrisi, etc., are not overlooked. Indeed, the Muslim geographers made great advancement in the sense that their works laid great stress on the cultural and social sides. The determinations of latitude and longitudes of numerous places and the data for lines showing routes are very clear and explicit. It would be a misnomer to call them merely 'Geographical Geographers.'

Dr. Nafis Ahmad refers the repeated charge that the most fruitful and classical age of Muslim geography passed away with the works compiled in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. and that the later writings were either mere repetitions or incoherent collections of information.

The second chapter which deals at length with the work of geographers giving short biographical sketches, forms an interesting contribution, while the third chapter takes up Cartography, astronomical and mathematical geography in which the Muslims evinced a great interest, forms the subject-matter of the fourth chapter. The last chapter is a resumé.

Besides these chapters there is an appendix. Al-Birūnī's geography of India, Bibliography (Text and Translations), Bibliography (General) with index take up 48 pages, while 132 pages are devoted to the subject matter. There are four interesting maps which en-

hance the value of the book. Mention should be made of the last two, namely 'The Arab Names in the Mediterranean lands in the Middle Ages' and 'Idrisi's World.'

In addition to the published works of the Western Orientalists such as Reinaud, De-Goje, Nallino, Sachau, Barthold, Kramers, etc., the author has utilised Arabic sources also.

In spite of the errata, there are still a few printer's slips, one glaring example is that instead of the title, "Astronomical and Mathematical Geography," we find 'Cartography' printed on pages 73 to 102.

The author has rendered a great service to the study of Muslim contribution in the realms of science and culture, for which he deserves our best thanks. In the execution of this work, in a neat and decent form, the publisher deserves our compliments.

K. S. L.

NOTICE.

Manuscripts sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. They must be clearly typewritten on one side of the paper only. All communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Islamic Culture, P.O. Box 171, Yusuf Manzil, or 223, Adigmet, Hyderabad-Deccan.

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Ed., I. C.

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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'an]

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THE ARAB BACKGROUND

IF I were asked to name the two most important events in Arabian history during the last millennium, I should choose the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, and the discovery of oil in our time. Both these events have brought about transformations more radical than a foreign invasion. The discovery of the Cape diverted the main route of world commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic; the Spice Road, whereby the wealth of India had been brought to Europe for over a 1000 years, which had created the pre-Muhammadan empires of south Arabia, and fed the luxury of Rome, and had been so necessary to medieval Europe that it broke through and in fact disintegrated the iron curtain of the Crusades;—this great trade route which from the days of Solomon to those of Vasco de Gama had made light of deserts, distances, and wars, was abandoned by the discovery of the African seaway to India. The Mediterranean became a blind alley; and all the Mediterranean powers declined. This fact has been obscured by various events which happened almost simultaneously: the discovery of the New World, which increased the lure of the Atlantic, and the Turkish conquest of the Levant, which gave an obvious but not a permanent reason for the Arab decline. If Indian trade had continued to flow through the Mediterranean, the Arab world would have recovered after the Turkish invasions. The Cape of Good Hope was discovered only 35 years after the fall of Constantinople and the disorder of the Levant probably speeded up the adoption of the Atlantic route to India; but it was poverty following the loss of their world trade that prevented any prospect of recovery in Arabia. Arabia had been the greatest commercial power between ancient Rome and Victorian Britain, its rich northern cities now declined while the Atlantic seaboard,—Portugal, Spain, France and England,—increased in wealth and enterprise; until it was possible for Mussolini in 1940 to close the Mediterranean altogether for a time, with no vital dislocation of the world's trade routes. The opening of the Suez Canal indeed brought back a certain amount of traffic;

but this was a local affair compared with the great African discovery : and only the 20th century, with its exploitation of oil, has re-established the early position of these lands as suppliers of one of the world's essential commodities, only to be reached across their deserts.

In the normal course of events, the Mediterranean decline, becoming ever more strongly marked as one travelled away from the Atlantic seaboard, should have continued uninterrupted until the closing of the Mediterranean made it visible to all. The coming of the aeroplane, like the opening of the Suez Canal, was bound to bring a flicker, but only a flicker, of revival : as the range of aircraft grew longer, the African routes to the Far East became as easy as the Arabian, and the geographic and political difficulties of Arabia would not have been worth dealing with in the interests of Air alone. Oil came into the picture like one of those geologic intrusions by which a whole landscape is changed. By its discovery the countries of Arabia have returned to their historic position,—middlemen for one of the world's most valuable products,—with the addition that it is now located largely within their own territory. Until oil is superseded, Arabia is bound to be immensely significant.

This historic background is most important to remember when considering the Arab of today. His qualities are not those of the rough man of the desert. The desert influences him : it feeds his towns and villages with a constant renewal of healthy, hardy human stock, so continuing the earliest known process of civilisation, the immigration of the desert into the Fertile Crescent. But the real influence of Arabia is that of a set of people endowed by nature with a quite exceptional liveliness of mind, trained by a cosmopolitan commercial history of over two thousand years. The decline of a few centuries is not enough to obliterate such a background ; every traveller notices the remarkable grasp of international affairs and the political intelligence of even quite primitive societies in Arabia, and this is, I think, largely due to the habit of international commerce, so wide spread and so long extended that it has dug itself in along all the ancient trade routes, where now the gossip of America and Europe is discussed around the wireless, as once—around the pack saddles—the gossip of Baghdad or Samarkand.

When the new factor of oil came into this picture, it thus found a background already well prepared. Though its effect is likely to resemble the old development of Arabian riches in some ways, new methods of transport, and a far greater amount of outside interference are turning it into what is really a new opening of Arabian history. The riches it brings are far greater than those of the ancient trade, and the fact that most of the oil is to be carried for shipment overland, by pipelines to Levantine harbours, means that the benefits are bound to be divided among a good proportion of the Arab nations. Sa'ūdi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and Palestine are all in for a share of production or transmission, if the geography of markets continues as now. The fact that the oil-drilling machines may pierce through rock to the deep

water level of Eastern Arabia and bring those deserts under irrigation, is even more revolutionary. It is certain that, with the new wealth, schools, hospitals, luxuries and the means of travel will increase. It is also certain that this development is among the chief causes of the rapidly growing importance of the middle class. The mechanism of modern life needs technical experts ; these have to be produced through education,—which in its turn creates the middle and professional classes. When these grow strong enough, internal tension arises as a reaction against older forms of government and the people who supported them, and this purely internal problem is the cause of much of the present xenophobia in many Eastern countries. The development of oil makes a western system of society inescapable, bureaucratic, democratic or totalitarian as the case may be, and this is inevitably bound up with the rule of the professional technical man.

FREYA STARK.

A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE MUSLIM STATE

(*Apropos of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*)

IT is generally admitted that the transition of the Caliphate from the Umayyads to the Abbasids (750 A.D.), as well as the shifting of its seat from Syria to Iraq, marked a change in the whole structure of the Muslim state: an essentially secular "Kingdom," it is believed, replaced the "Imamat," which emphasised the religious character of the highest office of the state. A bureaucratic system of administration was substituted for a haphazardly governing aristocracy, often guided by tribal connections, and an army composed of mercenaries of various origins consisting mainly of tribesmen; while the national preponderance of the Arabs was superseded by the growing influence of other nationalities, in particular the Iranian, which is believed to have been mainly responsible for the new order of things.

However, the changes that took place in the inner constitution of the Muslim state at that time were much more complicated than it is generally assumed and require elucidation. There are many questions which still await a satisfactory solution. How far did the Caliph's religious authority stretch? What was its content in theory and practice? How much was Muslim law, which was the law of the state, affected by it? By what means was the ruler able to control the army, after the old idea¹ of a caste of warriors, exploiting for their common interest the *misera contribuens plebs* (the mass of people paying taxes) was abandoned? What was the origin of the new system of administration and were the people introducing it themselves aware of the changes they were bringing about? Since the early Abbasid period saw the formation and formulation of Islamic law and forms a satisfactory answer to the questions raised above may help to understand the development of Muslim religion as well as the Islamic history.

Fortunately enough, we possess a document of unique value from the first days of the Abbasid caliphate, which shows us this regime as witnessed by a shrewd observer: we mean Ibn al-Muqaffa's memorandum on Government called *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*.² Every sentence in this remarkable little book bears the mark of strict authenticity and

utmost actuality. Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a man of the type and calibre of Ibn Khaldun and Niccolo Machiavelli, who, although gifted with deep insight in political matters, were barred from occupying leading positions in active politics during the most creative periods of their lives. This personal tragedy was, in the case of Ibn al-Muqaffa', enhanced by his being a Mawla, a non-Arab, whom neither his superior knowledge of Arabic and his general erudition, nor his great wealth, nor his intimate relations with the highest Arab aristocracy, including the Caliph's family, could save from a most cruel death, perpetrated, with the connivance of the Caliph, by an amir who was unable to retaliate Ibn al-Muqaffa's witty insults except by physical brutality.³ Although he passed the greater part of his life as a non-Muslim,⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa' received, owing to the foresight of his father, a very careful training in Arabic, both in the circles of the savants of Basra and under the guidance of two eloquent Bedouins; with the result that his Arabic prose was regarded as an unsurpassed model up to the present day.⁵ His zeal for the preservation of the purity of the Arabic language was almost proverbial,⁶ with the arrogance characteristic of a man of wit living on the border-line between two races he used to correct the mistakes in speech made by the Arab aristocrats (e.g., by the amir who afterwards put him to death), as in general he was unable to suppress his poignant sarcasm, when confronted with people of consequence, but little intelligence. He adopted the social ideals of Arab high society most diligently and surpassed it by lavishing stupendous sums on poets and singers, helping friends in distress and by rescuing complete strangers who applied to him for assistance. He also taught the Arabs the fine manners of the Persian nobles; thus, his Arab guests were surprised, when at the beginning of a meal, his butler announced the exact sequence of dishes, "so that everybody could save his appetite for the dish he most liked," or when they were given *alcali* (*uṣhnān*) for washing their hands after the meal, etc.⁷ Although his books are among the earliest specimens of Arabic prose, he himself regarded his own time like one of the late epigones; thus he declared in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*⁸ that everything of importance had already been said in the works of the previous generations, while for the contemporary author nothing was left but "some fine distinctions and subtle notions, derived from the more substantial sayings of the ancients—an attitude well suited to a writer whose greatest merit was the translation—in its highest meaning—of Middle-Persian literature into Arabic."

It has been necessary to demonstrate the complex character of Ibn al-Muqaffa' in order to put the content of the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba* into its true perspective. Nor is it simple to define the exact nature of that little book itself. It is not a "Mirror for Princes" (a book on the virtues and vices of the rulers), a kind of literature much in vogue in the middle ages, for which Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself set the model in his *Ādāb al-Kabīr* and—to a certain extent—in *Kalīla wa Dimna*.⁹ For that type of literature

describes the duties of, and provides advice for, the rulers in a general way, while the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba* speaks of a definite historical situation, for which it suggests definite solutions.¹⁰ On the other hand, it cannot be compared with the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* of Abu Yūsuf, to which it bears some resemblance; for that is a compendium of religious law on many questions connected with the conduct of the state, on which the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd asked the advice of his Qādi, while Ibn al-Muqaffa', of course, had no religious authority and obviously was not invited at all to give his opinion on the matters he dealt with. It has been suggested¹¹ that the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba* was written at the instigation of the Caliph's relatives, to whom Ibn al-Muqaffa' sometimes rendered the services of a scribe. But nothing in the book itself bears out this suggestion. On the contrary, the introduction seems to indicate clearly that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote the book of his own accord. For, after having described the Caliph¹² as austere and open to advice, and living in expectation of future life, as becoming a true Muslim, he continues by saying that these traits encourage a man with ideas to put forward to the Caliph suggestions which, it may be assumed, have not been made to him before by others. It is extremely difficult to understand how the Persian nobleman dared to submit to the Arab Caliph a complete political programme, especially at a time when such eminent Iranians, as Abu Muslim and Sunbadh were put to death, and we may not be far from the truth, if we assume that our memorandum, although composed out of serious concern for the well-being of the Caliphate, contributed to arouse al-Manṣūr's suspicions, ultimately leading to the author's death. Indeed, while reading the long and rather strained *captatio benevolentiae* at the beginning of the book, one can hardly fail to observe that Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself felt that this step was very unusual, and in direct contradiction to his own advice, given in the *Ādāb al-Kabīr*, to avoid as far as possible any intercourse with the rulers. Only a strong and genuine interest in political matters could have induced the experienced courtier to disregard the counsel of caution and to put himself, in a manner of speaking, in the place of the ruler of the empire, despite his position as a member of a subject race. To the historian, of course, this attitude only enhances the value of the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*, to the analysis of which we now turn.

The first and main subject dealt with by Ibn al-Muqaffa' was the army. For the Muslim empire was essentially a military state, whose concern was the upkeep of an army and the raising of funds necessary for its continued maintenance.¹³ In later Umayyad times the Arab army had already ceased to be a national all-embracing unit, but consisted of two entirely different parts: the main and more efficient contingent—the imperial guards—had to safeguard the Caliph's rule over his territories; while various local corps were used mainly for the Jihād, the war with Byzantium and other foreign states, which was of little momentum at the time when Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote. During the Umayyad

period, the imperial army consisted mainly of Syrian contingents, which lived in the other provinces of the empire at the expense of the local population and were largely stationed in separate quarters or camp-towns (e.g., Wāṣit in Iraq). The Umayyad state disintegrated, when the Syrian army lost its *esprit de corps* owing to tribal and other internal disagreement. The imperial guards of the early Abbasids consisted of Khorasanians, i.e., warriors coming from the north-eastern march of Iran, who brought with them a great military tradition owing to the incessant border warfare with the peoples of Central Asia. These Khorasanians were by no means pure Iranians. Most of the commanders and many of the men were Arabs, who, however, had amalgamated with the Iranians and often adopted Persian as their colloquial speech, as well as Persian costume and ways of thinking. Ibn al-Muqaffa' speaks in the highest terms of the discipline and the obedience of these troops, who showed a respect for the life, property and honour of the civilian population quite unheard of in Islam before.¹⁴ However, there was one basic difference between the Syrian army of the Umayyads and the Khorasanian troops of the first Abbasids: While the former had been attached to their rulers by natural and traditional ties, the Khorasanians had become the vanguard of Abbasids owing to religious propaganda. There was no other bond between the Caliph and his army besides religious conviction. It was for this reason that "the right belief"¹⁵ then became of the highest importance—a fact clearly recognized by Ibn al-Muqaffa', who made it the corner-stone of his political programme.

Despite the enormous mass of information concerning the political and military events which led to the rise of the Abbasids, we have very little exact knowledge about the contents of their secret propaganda. It has been rightly assumed that there was some connection between the Abbasids and the sect of the Mu'tazila, which is not surprising, as the theory of the free-will, which the Mu'tazilites took over from the Qadarites, was always favoured by revolutionary movements.¹⁶ But, although the sources deliberately obscure it, there is little doubt that the Abbasids employed the most extreme theories of Divine Kingship and possibly even of outright libertinism. This is evident from the numerous extremist religious upheavals subsequently connected with Abu Muslim, the Abbasid chief of propaganda (Sunbadh, Muqanna', Khurramiya, Pāpak), but also from what is to be inferred from direct testimony, such as Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitāb as-Ṣaḥāba*. After having stressed the necessity of "putting straight the hands, the thought and the words"¹⁷ of the Khorasanians, Ibn al-Muqaffa' ascribes to their officers the belief that if the Caliph ordered the mountains to move, they would obey, or if he ordered that in prayer one should turn one's back to the Ka'ba, his will would be done. In order to understand the full bearing of Ibn al-Muqaffa's words, one has only to recall the well-known Rawendiya Corps incident¹⁸—for these troops declared Maṣṣūr their God—"rabb"—and tried to kill him when he was unwilling to accept their devotion. Balādhuri¹⁹

reports that once when al-Manṣūr was late for the Ḥajj, he was even advised to change the obligatory dates for the annual pilgrimage.²⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa' thought that troops, whose officers held such beliefs, were a most dangerous instrument in the hands of their rulers: "as if a man wanted to frighten people by riding on a lion, while the rider himself was more frightened of it than anybody else."

In order to overcome this danger, Ibn al-Muqaffa' suggested that the Caliph issued a short, but complete catechism²¹ supported by proofs, clearly defining the beliefs to be held by the officers and men of the imperial army (p. 122). Officers and men should be given instruction in the Qur'ān and the Oral Tradition, as well as the basic religious tenets and be bound to lead an austere life according to the example set by the Caliph (p. 124). Ibn al-Muqaffa' deals at length with the central question of this catechism: the extent and nature of the religious authority of the Caliph. After refuting the old formula of Muslim dissidents that "man owes no obedience to rulers who disobey God," as well as the opposite belief that man is bound to obey his superiors without having recourse to the judgment of his own conscience, he explains that the Caliph had the last decision in all matters for which the Qur'ān and the Oral Tradition had no express injunctions. The Religious Law did not embrace all life, it left adequate room for free decision, "*rā'y*"—this was the domain of the ruler, while the rest of the Muslims had only to express their opinion, when asked.

It is a well-known fact that orthodox Islam has not adopted this theory. The place assigned by Ibn al-Muqaffa' to the *rā'y* of the ruler was taken in later theory by the *Ijmā'*: not the decision of the Caliph, but the consensus of the competent religious scholars was to solve the questions for which holy Scripture and Tradition had no answer. But at the time when Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote—a few years after the overwhelming victory of Abbasid propaganda—it seemed only natural that the Caliph should be regarded as the highest religious authority, similar to the Byzantine Emperor, who was the absolute ruler of the Church, convoked the assemblies of the bishops, led their discussions and arbitrarily decided theological disputes. Abu Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-Kharāj* which was composed about forty years after the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*, showed largely the same attitude.²² To be sure, in those days Muslim law developed by leaps and bounds; Abu Yūsuf himself operates copiously with *rā'y*, but in many cases he lays before the Caliph the various possibilities, leaving it to him to decide; for, although he was more critical of his own Caliph (Ḥārūn ar-Rashīd), than Ibn al-Muqaffa' was of his, he stood in religious awe of the Caliph's office itself.

Furthermore, it is too well known to be explained in detail that the first Abbasid Caliphs—even more than the later Umayyads—largely meddled in theological discussions, the Mu'tazilite Mihna under al-Mamūn and the orthodox reaction under al-Mutawakkil being only the most famous examples of a general practice. We never hear, however,

about an official catechism composed by the order of the Caliph for the use of his army. Many books were written in later times on Muslim creed, but these were free compositions by scholars of various denominations. In this respect, too, orthodox Islam, although it often invoked the assistance of the rulers for the imposition of certain doctrines, refrained from too close a connection between the state and religious creed.

In one respect, however, Ibn al-Muqaffa' seems to have foreshadowed very important later developments. We do not know how far al-Manṣūr followed his advice to discipline his guards through a systematic religious education. But later on, from the Samānids, whose efficient training was admired by Nizām al-Mulk in his *Siyāset Nāmeḥ*, down to the Egyptian Mamluks and the Ottoman Janissaries, religious education formed an important part of the preparation of choice troops for their task.²³

Of no small historical interest also are Ibn al-Muqaffa's remarks about the administrative aspects of the maintenance of the imperial guards. He strongly advises the Caliph not to allow them to deal with the collection of the land-tax, which, according to him, was detrimental to their morale, incompatible with the dignity of the military profession and a danger to the security of the civil population. Between the lines we read the reason for this unfavourable development (p. 123): even at that very early period the payment of the guards seems to have been neither very regular nor sufficient owing to the high prices of cereals and fodder in Iraq (p. 124). By entrusting them with the collection of the land-tax, the administration seems to have tried to overcome these difficulties. But the combination of military command with fiscal power over certain stretches of land marked the first beginnings of Muslim feudalism, which was destined to shape the social structure of the Near East down to the end of the nineteenth century. However, it seems that the symptoms so eagerly watched by Ibn al-Muqaffa' developed only slowly and in particular at the time when the *Khorasanians* had been replaced by Turkish slaves, for Abu Yūsuf, who deals with the question of the collection of taxes at great length, although objecting to the farming of taxes in general (*taqbīl*)²⁴ apparently never mentions that the publicans partly came from the imperial guards. C. H. Becker, who gives an excellent summary of the research into the history of early Muslim feudalism, also puts its beginnings a century or so after Ibn al-Muqaffa'.²⁵ Still it is interesting to discover its traces in the first decennium of the Abbasid caliphate, as observed in these passages of the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' concludes his exposition of the state of the Imperial Guard with the typically Iranian advice that the Caliph should organize an efficient intelligence service to keep him informed about all that was going on among his troops in Khorasan, where they were recruited, as well as at the seat of the government and in the outlying garrisons. A state, which, as we have seen, was based on the convictions and the religious belief of the imperial guards, certainly needed such supervision.

From the Khorasanian guards, Ibn al-Muqaffa' turns to Iraq, which, being the focus of Arab colonization as well as of Muslim religious learning, gives him the opportunity to discuss a number of most important questions: At that time, Baghdad was not yet in existence; the towns mentioned were al-Miṣrān, i.e., Kufa and Basra, and al-Hira. The Khorasanian Arabs themselves, as Ibn al-Muqaffa' points out, had originally come from Iraq. Therefore, they were expected to mix easily with the local population, while Iraq in general was the ideal place where the various peoples, in particular Arabs and Iranians, were able to amalgamate and constitute one united nation. In those days, the mixture of races had become an ideal, just as up to that time purity of race had been almost an article of creed among both the Arabs and the Persians.²⁶ Ibn al-Muqaffa' seems to have been one of the first who expressed the new attitude, which was only natural in a non-Arab, who saw in the Khorasanian blend of Arabs and Iranians the backbone of the empire.

The mixing of the Khorasanians with the Iraqi population, so eagerly desired by Ibn al-Muqaffa' actually took place, but it was precisely this process, which made them unfit to remain the military force on which the Caliphs could rely; before long they were replaced by foreign mercenaries, whose sole or main allegiance to the ruler was the pay they received.

The unsatisfactory position of the 'Iraqīs with regard to employment in the service of the Abbasid government gives Ibn al-Muqaffa' the opportunity to discuss the main topic of his book: the saḥāba, the "companions" (of the Caliph)²⁷ and the service of the state in general. Owing to their linguistic and religious characteristics as well as to their noble origin, the 'Iraqīs, according to Ibn al-Muqaffa', should occupy the most prominent positions at the court of the Abbasids, in their army and administration. In fact, however, they were deprived of their natural prerogative (p. 125) by people "who were neither educated, nor of noble birth, persons of poor intelligence, well known for their crimes, without merits in either peace or war and—most shocking of all—persons who had passed most of their lives as labourers having done manual work with their own hands." Such people had succeeded in obtaining access to the Caliph and precedence over the old Muslim aristocracy (Muḥājirīn and Anṣār), the scions of noble Arab houses and even the Caliph's own family. In addition, they were in receipt of substantial grants without having qualified for them by literary refinement,²⁸ religious knowledge or military service. Their only importance was that they served as scribes or doorkeepers (chamberlains)²⁹ and used these offices for acquiring power (p. 128). Ibn al-Muqaffa' recounts that when he, together with a party of noblemen from Basra, went to see Abu'l-'Abbās, the first Abbasid Caliph, most of the company broke away before the meeting, because the *entourage* of the Caliph was composed of people whom the noblemen believed it beneath their dignity to meet. Ibn al-Muqaffa' explains to his Caliph in very strong terms that a ruler

was not in the same position as a private man who could promote or neglect any of his freedmen according to his own whims. In the service of the state, only the qualifications and the usefulness of each person to the community should guide the ruler's choice. There were three types who recommended themselves for the service of the state, or, as Ibn al-Muqaffa' calls it; the Companionship (of the Caliph):

(a) Deserving officers "who should be promoted from the military service to the Companionship,"

(b) Faqīhs, whose religious knowledge would be beneficial to the community,

(c) Prominent men of noble birth.

People serving as scribes or chamberlains should have neither executive power, nor the honour of the Caliph's company, but should be content with receiving an adequate remuneration for their services (p. 129).

These eloquent passages from the Kitāb as-Ṣaḥāba demonstrate what is indeed indicated in many an old source, but not yet fully realized by the historians of Islam, namely that the rise of the Abbasids marks not only the beginning of a new dynasty and a new system of state, but also a great social and economic upheaval, which, in its turn, had a considerable effect on the organization of the empire. As this question will be dealt with in a separate paper, we here confine ourselves to the remark that the new system was very far from that of the Sassanid state, as the continuation of which it is invariably described. The Sassanid state was essentially aristocratic, being based on the leadership of the great families and the gentry, whose sons formed the nucleus of the royal army, as well as the mobeds, the caste of priests. Ibn al-Muqaffa's recommendations, just mentioned, were in conformity with the Persian tradition; his inclinations were indeed intrinsically aristocratic, as may be learnt from many a passage in his books.³⁰ But the reality of the new Abbasid state, so vividly described in the pages of the Kitāb as-Ṣaḥāba quoted above³⁰ was very remote from these ideals: the *wuzarā'*³¹ and *'ummāl*, the officials of the central and district administration, chose their staffs from their own environment, having themselves come from very mixed origins (p. 125).

Even more astonishing than Ibn al-Muqaffa's plea for the rights of the Arab nobility is his detailed treatment of the necessary reforms of Muslim law—considering that he was a new convert, who had embraced Islam only very late in life. But there is no doubt that his advice was completely sincere, for his chief object was to secure the good conduct of the state, which could not be achieved except by a properly functioning system of law. At that early period, Muslim law was in theory as well as in practice the law of the state, but it was in itself still very rudimentary and ill-defined. Ibn al-Muqaffa' vividly describes the dissensions about most basic questions with regard to both civil and criminal law which prevailed not only between two cities as Kufa and Hira, but also between various parts of Kufa itself, while there was far-reaching discord between

the two main "schools" of Iraq and Hijāz. Where decisions were based on *traditions* (sunnah), authority for such traditions was often very weak, or relied on precedent, not set by the Prophet or the righteous Caliphs,³³ but that of an Umayyad like 'Abd al-Malik or a simple amir.³⁴ But where judgment was given on the basis of free reasoning, "ra'y," it tended to become quite arbitrary, the judge not caring whether he stood alone with his decision or not.

In view of such confusion, Ibn al-Muqaffa' entreats the Caliph to take the administration of law into his own hands by creating a Code—to be properly amended by his successors—based on (a) precedents and usage (siyar), (b) tradition and analogy, (c) his own decisions. Of traditions only those should be included which were testified by good authority and were reasonable in themselves, while for free judgment not so much logical analogy (qiyās), as public welfare and equity (mustahsan, ma'rūf) was to be the true measurement.

It may be asked from which sources Ibn al-Muqaffa' derived this idea of codification by the ruler? Aḥmad Amīn, in his study of the Kitāb as-Ṣaḥāba [Duḥā l' Islam, vol. 1, p. 215 (6)] takes it for granted that taqnīn qānūn, Codification, was a traditional feature of the Persian empire and as such familiar to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. However, as far as it is known, the Sassanids possessed no authorized code of law. The legal sources for that period, whether preserved in Pehlevi or in Syriac versions, were private collections of laws and judgments made by legal scholars.³⁵ Nor is it feasible to surmise that the example of the Roman legal codes had any influence on our author. It is true, Roman law was substantial—to a certain extent—in the formation of Muslim legal conceptions, but it was not the codes—the very existence of which seems not to have drawn to them the attention of the Arabs—but the practice of law, as they found it in the provinces conquered by them, with which they became acquainted.

There remains only one explanation of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s ideas of the codification of Muslim law and belief by the Caliph: they were suggested to him by an acute observation of the Muslim state and religion themselves. Both had arrived at cross-roads, where their mutual relationship had to be defined. State control over religion and law—as envisaged by Ibn al-Muqaffa'—was one possibility; divorce of state and religious law with the consequence that the latter was largely becoming theoretical, while the state developed a secular jurisdiction of its own—was the other. Orthodox Islam chose the second alternative, opening the way for the development of numerous "schools" of religious law which were finally condensed into the official four madhāhib. It is significant that exactly in those years the Christian church codified its own law, the so-called Dionysio-Hadriana (774), which was officially authorized by Charlemagne in 802.

The Kitāb as-Ṣaḥāba deals with a number of other questions, of which the section on the treatment of the newly-conquered population of Syria

reveals a particularly high degree of political wisdom. But we need not dwell on this chapter as well as others which reflect contemporary history rather than the development of the Muslim state. There remains only the short, but highly interesting, paragraph on the collection of the land-tax—the main source of income of the Caliphate, which is to be considered here. Ibn al-Muqaffa' denounces the cruelty and arbitrariness of tax collectors, which have the effect that the landowners who led their fields lie fallow are rewarded for their laziness, while the industrious husbandmen are penalized for their zeal. He suggests that the sums to be paid in respect of each particular stretch of land be fixed once for all; everybody should know exactly what was due from him; otherwise nobody would put much work into his farm, knowing that the tax-collector would rob him of the fruit of his labours.

The system recommended by Ibn al-Muqaffa' was not new. It was first put into practice under the Sassanid king Kavādh at the beginning of the sixth century,³⁷ taken over by the Muslim conquerors in Iraq and introduced under Abd al-Malik even in northern Mesopotamia and in Syria.³⁸ Owing to considerable changes, however, in the economic structure of the Muslim empire it fell into decay in the early days of the Abbasid era³⁹ and a generation after Ibn al-Muqaffa', Abu Yūsuf recommended to replace it by the more primitive system of the *muqāsama*, according to which the state received a certain percentage of the yearly crops.⁴⁰ It is significant that Ibn al-Muqaffa' insists on the strict application of the Sassanid system, which, if it works well, is of course more conducive to the stability of the budget of both the state and the landowners than the yearly fluctuating *muqāsama*. As everywhere else, Ibn al-Muqaffa' aims at stability and rigid control by the state.

It might be useful to recapitulate the main results to be obtained from a study of Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba* for understanding the great changes which affected the Muslim state during the critical years of the early Abbasid period.

The importance of the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba* lies in the fact that its author, besides being a shrewd observer, who was able to make full use of his close connections with the Caliph's family, had a very definite attitude to most of the problems facing the Muslim empire in those days. That attitude was by no means one-sided; for although being a Persian aristocrat of Manichæan inclinations, he was fully aware of the benefits of a mixture of Persians and Arabs under the auspices of the official Muslim religion.⁴¹ For many shortcomings of the Abbasid administration he saw a remedy in the return to, or stricter application of, the Sassanid system of government. But in other cases, his recommendations were suggested to him by a close observation of the inner state of the Muslim religion and empire and were quite contrary to the Sassanian tradition. In a number of instances he foresaw later developments, *e.g.*, the beginnings of Islamic military feudalism or the introduction of religious education for the imperial guards, emphasized by him again in

the closing paragraph of his treatise, where he says that guidance to correct conduct and beliefs (taqwīm ādābihim wa-ṭarā'iqihim) was more important for a people than the provision of food. (Rasā'il al-Bulāgha, p. 130). In many cases however, the subsequent development went counter to the ways recommended by Ibn al-Muqaffa'. But this fact neither detracts from the importance of the author nor diminishes the historical value of his statements, as these reveal to us certain tendencies of historical development which might have otherwise escaped our attention.

As we have seen, Ibn al-Muqaffa' expected the Caliph to become the ultimate authority in religious matters, as well as the codifier of Muslim law and creed.⁴² The Sassanian kings had not occupied a similar position, nor could the model of the Byzantine emperor or the Roman Pope have had any influence on our author. His suggestions reflect the expectations of the generation which witnessed the sweeping victory of the Abbasids and believed that the caliphs from the Prophet's own family would enjoy an authority almost comparable to that of the founder of Islam itself. But although some of the earlier Abbasid caliphs meddled in theological and legal matters, Ibn al-Muqaffa's ideas of a rigid control by the state of the religion of its subjects never materialized. The result was that the state became weak while religion gained what the state had lost: it enjoyed a degree of freedom and a variety of possibilities of development, which under strict control of the state it would never have attained.

We shall arrive at similar conclusions, if we consider the second main point made by Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*. In his days, quite a new form of bureaucracy was coming into existence, which was neither Arab nor Sassanian. In accordance with the Sassanian tradition Ibn al-Muqaffa' believed that the candidates for the higher offices of the state should be recruited from either the military or the nobility but, in reality they were enlisted from the personal entourage of the rulers, mostly people with experience in economic life. This fact is explained both by economic and social developments in general and by the role played by the neo-Muslim merchants and industrialists who did propaganda for the Abbasids prior to their rise to power. In any case Ibn al-Muqaffa' was right in deploring this action. Owing to it, the Muslim empire lost its traditional aristocracy and failed to develop a new ruling class, a deficiency which no doubt contributed to the rapid disintegration of the Caliphate. But the Muslim religion, instead of becoming the interest of a limited clique—as Zoroastrianism was—became the concern of a vast middle class, the merchant, as Mez—in his "Renaissance of Islam"—has rightly explained, being the real bearer of Muslim expansion all over Asia and Africa; and while the Persian religion almost disappeared with the downfall of the Sassanid empire, the dismemberment of the Muslim state had an opposite effect on Muslim religion: To quote Mez again: people began to speak about the Mamlakat al-Islam, "the Realm of Islam," exactly at the time when

the Caliphate itself had gone to pieces. Ibn al-Muqaffa's plea for the closest connection of state and religion was in full accord with the tendencies prevailing at the very beginning of the Abbasid era. The subsequent history showed that this connection was not insoluble.

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NOTES

1. It has often occurred to me that the fabric of the original Muslim state, as it was formed approximately in 'Umar's time, bore a strange resemblance to the various strata of the ideal state conceived by Plato in his *Politeia*. The "Companions" (Aṣḥāb), or rather the small circle of noble Meccans, who, or whose parents, had been closely connected with the Prophet, correspond to the "Rulers" (archontes) or the "Perfect Guardians" (phylakes panteleis). The mass of tribesmen, who, by leaving Arabia, became recognized as the warriors of Allah (muḥājirīn fī sabīl Allāh) and were registered in fixed dīwāns, resemble Plato's "Guardians" (phylakes), while the rest of the population, the non-Muslims, who contributed the means of subsistence to the former two classes, may be compared with Plato's "Employers" and "Maintainers" (misthodotai, tropheis), of which names the designation of the non-Muslims as māddat al-muslimīn "Helpers of the Muslims" (Yahya b. Adam, K. al-Kharāj, p. 27 and elsewhere) is strangely reminiscent. Two further instances of resemblance are the facts that the Muslims used to live together in special camp-cities, separated from the rest of the population, and that a serious attempt was made at preventing them from holding or cultivating land. As is well known, Plato's "Guardians" were supposed to live in closed communities and not to possess private property. It is needless to say that the Muslim state came into being without any connection with Plato's theories. The nearest historical parallel was the Sassanid empire, where the nobility, the gentry, the priests, the scribes and all other "Servants of the King" were exempted from the poll-tax, which was graded according to the capacity of the tax-payer like the jizya paid by non-Muslims to the Caliph's treasurer. (Cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, etc., 1879, pp. 246-7).

2. Included in Abi Ṭahir Ṭaifūr's (died 280/893) Anthology, the Kitāb al-Manthūr wal-Manzūm, manuscripts of which have been preserved at the British Museum and at Cairo, cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. I, pp. 138 and 151, second edition pp. 210 and 236. Published by M. Kurd 'Alī in his *Rasāil al-Bulāgha*, pp. 120-131. The title ("On the Entourage—of the Caliph") refers to the passage on pp. 127-129, which will be discussed later on.

3. Both the historical accounts and the dirges composed on Ibn al-Muqaffa' after his death—which remained unrevenge—show that his deplorable end was possible only because in those early days the murder of a Mawla was still looked upon lightly, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* MS., fol. 319 b.

4. Probably not a Zoroastrian, but a Manichæan, as he was charged with crypto-Manichæan tendencies, cf. M Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo*, Roma, 1927.

H. S. Nyberg, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*? 1929, p. 432, seems to believe that Ibn al-Muqaffa' had not adopted Islam at all. A. Christensen *L' Iran sous les Sassanides*, 1936, p. 54, calls him "Person Zoroastrien." But the content of the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣahāba,—see especially below p. 25-28?—as well as the story given below (and many other anecdotes from his life), clearly show that he was a Muslim convert. It is also possible that before his conversion he professed the official Persian religion, Zoroastrianism of Sassanid brand, but belonged at the same time to some Manichæan

conventicle. Al-Balādhuri reports the following anecdote about his conversion: In the early days of the Abbasids (lamma jā'at ad-daulah), he came to 'Isa b. 'Ali, a relative of the Caliph, whom he served as a scribe and informed him one evening of his intention to embrace Islam on the following morning. When asked to dinner, he first refused (as indeed a Manichæan would have done with regard to a Muslim invitation) but finally accepted—murmuring his prayers, before serving himself. When 'Isa expressed his astonishment that a man who was about to become a Muslim recited Manichæan prayers (Zamzama), Ibn al-Muqaffa' replied: "I dislike the idea of passing a night without having a religion" (Ansab al-Ashraf MS., fol. 318 b).

This story, which bears the stamp of authenticity, shows—to my mind—not so much Ibn al-Muqaffa's religiosity, as his conviction of the only relative value of any positive religion, a conviction disclosed in the Introduction to *Kalila wa-Dimna*, cf. the admirable paper of our lamented friend *Paul Kraus*, "Burzōē's Einleitung zu *Kalila wa-Dimna*" in *Rivista d. Studi Orientali*, vol. 14, 1934, pp. 16-18. Kraus thinks that Burzōē, King Anūshirwān's physician, himself already had doubts as to the objective truth of the various religious tenets; cf. *A Christensen*, *Acta Orientalia*, vol. 8, 1929, pp. 81 sq.

5. It is generally believed that Arabic was adopted by the conquered nations as the language of the ruling religion. This is only partially true. As Ibn al-Muqaffa's example shows, the Mawali studied Arabic most eagerly long before they thought of embracing Islam. In addition to the practical value of the knowledge of Arabic, it was the unique expressiveness and structural lucidity of this language which exercised a spell on the speakers of Middle-Persian or Aramaic.

6. Giving rise to anecdotes showing the futility of the endeavours to correct linguistic mistakes. Thus, after he had succeeded in teaching his attendant to pronounce *dukhān* "smoke" with one *kh* instead of two (as it is pronounced in colloquial Arabic up till the present day) he was discouraged when hearing him after some days saying *dukān* "shop" (with one *k*), instead of *dukkān*. Or when he had taught a young man of the Caliph's family that "black" if referring to a mule, should be rendered with *adham*, not *aswad*, it was exasperating for him to hear the young nobleman applying this adjective also to his black coat (Ansab al-Ashraf, fol. 318-319).

7. Ansab ib.

8. Rasā'il al-Bulagha pp. 55-6. Quoted also by Ahmad Amin, *Ḍuḥa l'Isam*, vol. 1, p. 200.

9. cf. Gustav Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der alteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, 1932, pp. 4-32.

10. Of a somewhat similar type is an Epistle addressed by Abd al-Hamid, the famous Umayyad scribe, to Abdallah, the son of Merwan II, in the name of his father, when the crown prince was away on a military expedition against the *Khawārij* (Rasā'il al-Bulagha, pp. 139-164). The second part of that Epistle is very interesting for the history of the art of war, while the first part lies midway between the generalities of a "Mirror for Princes" and the concrete advice of an experienced statesman. Of particular interest is Abd al-Hamid's urgent entreaty that nobody should be received by the crown prince, and no request dealt with him, before the matter had been scrutinized by, and discussed with his secretary or his chamberlain, who should, in the appropriate cases, also provide the answers or receive the applicants. (Ras. Bul. p. 145). Only fifty years later the Caliph had become separated from his subjects to such a degree that Abu Yūsuf had to admonish Hārūn ar-Rashīd to be accessible to everybody, "and were it only for one day in the whole year, not in a month." (K. al-Kharāj, Cairo 1346, p. 134, l. 8).

In any case, Abd al-Hamid's Epistle passed as given in the name of the Caliph and was not a private communication as Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitāb as-Ṣaḥāba*, cf. also J. Göldziher, *Muham*, *Studien*, vol. 2, p. 67.

11. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, second edition, vol. 1, p. 236.

12. The name of the Caliph is not mentioned expressly. But as as-Saffāh is referred to as dead, (p. 128, l. 1) the Caliph addressed must be al-Manṣūr and therefore the Epistle was written between 136/754, the year of al-Manṣūr's accession to the throne, and 142/759, the year of Ibn al-Muqaffa's death, cf. F. Gabrieli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa*, *Rivista di Studi Orientali*, vol. 13, 1931, p. 231. The repeated references to the fact that Allah has rid the Caliph of the man who shared with him the highest authority (e.g., 121, l. 10), seems to indicate that 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, Manṣūr's uncle, was already crushed and Abu Muslim, the almighty leader of the Khorasanians, already dead (137/755) the description of the caliph as austere and strong is in conformity with what is known about al-Manṣūr's character.

13. To a generation like ours, which is accustomed to a state which affects each and every department of life, the old military state, whose professed aim was mainly the protection of life and property of the law-abiding citizen, seems somewhat crude. But let us remember that some of the most enlightened men of all times, such as Wilhelm von Humboldt (cf. his book on the Limits of the State, 1792), believed that it was precisely that limitation which made the good state. As a matter of fact, the Caliph's state left a great measure of freedom to the various groups and religions. The idea that the state should meddle as little as possible in the private life of its subjects is expressed in a saying attributed to al-Mamūn himself: "The best life has that man who does not know us (the Government) and whom we do not know" Ghuzulī, *Maṭālī' al-Budūr*, Cairo 1299-30, vol. 1, 12; cf. Gustave E. V. Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, p. 250, note. This is to be compared with a saying from Sassanid times, which blesses the man by whose door the King's messenger (firistaqqa) never passes. (Babylonian Talmud, Ketubbot 62 a.) For reasons which will presently be explained, the Abbasid state was soon forced to interfere in the beliefs of his Muslim subjects.

14. This praise could not be due to national pride. First, as we have seen, the Khorasanians were of mixed race. Furthermore, Ibn al-Muqaffa' originated from Fārs in South-West Iran (Ansāb 318 a), grew up in Iraq and seemed to have had a strong bias for the 'Irāqīs. See below.

15. It had already been of some political importance in the later Umayyad period. The Qadarites, who taught the freedom of will, were the favourites of the usurper Yazid III b. Walid (Wellhausen, *Reich* 229), but were persecuted by rulers like Hishām (Tabarī 2, 1777, 3, 1733) or Merwān II. Most significant is the speech made by the unsuccessful pretender 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq after his conquest of Damascus (as early as A.H. 70/A.D. 710 Tabarī 2, 784, 18). However, it must be stated that despite the obvious bearings on politics of a religious belief, which taught man that he should not suffer a tyrannous rule like a heavenly decree, the sources do not expressly state that the persecution of the Qadarites by Hishām or Merwān II had political reasons. In any case during the Umayyad rule, these persecutions were on a very small scale and are mentioned only quite incidentally.

16. Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, S. V. Mu'tazila, vol. 3, p. 852 a. The manuscript of the Ansāb al-Ashraf contains (fol. 309 a.) some interesting details about the relations between 'Amr b. 'Ubaid, the Mu'tazili leader, and al-Manṣūr, which were partly copied by later sources, e.g., al-Maqrīzī, published in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, 225-6.

17. I don't remember having read this threefold expression in earlier Arabic literature. But it is found in the Ghatas in the Avesta, cf. H. Oldenberg; *Die-iranische Religion, Die Kultur der Gegenwart I, III, 1* p. 96.

18. Reported by al-Tabarī 3, 129, al-Fakhri and many others. It is significant that the rebellion was quelled by the noble, but cruel Bedouin chieftain Ma'n b. Za'ida, who certainly had little understanding for the Khorasanians' religious excitement.

19. Ansāb, fol. 311 a.

20. 'Abdallāh al-Qasri, the Umayyad Viceroy of Iraq, is reported to have said

that he was prepared to pull down the Ka'ba stone by stone, if he was ordered to do so by his Caliph, for the rulers were more important in the eyes of God than the prophets (Aghānī, vol. 19, p. 60, l. 11, c. Wellhausen Reich 133, note 3, where the quotation as well as the explanation of the passage is somewhat inexact). The saying attributed to the Umayyad viceroy is meant to demonstrate his heathen mind, while Ibn al-Muqaffa's Khorasanians believed that the Caliph was free to make the most basic changes in Muslim religious law.

21. 'Amān (p. 122, l. cf. 'amāna, p. 124, 2). The meaning of the word seems to be "safeguard" (which protects its bearer from false creeds), cf. the context of p. 124, 2.

22. Faḥḥudh bi'ayyi l-qualain, fa'inna dhalika muwassa' un 'alaika, "Choose whichever of the two opinions you prefer, for it is up to you to decide. (Ed.) 1346, p. 22, 63, 69, etc., Abu Yūsuf quotes freely the decisions of earlier Caliphs, p. 48, even of Umayyads, e.g., 'Abd al-Malik, p. 49, Mu'āwiya, p. 179 (and even of their viceroy al-Hajjāj, p. 69), but the matters concerned in those passages are more of an administrative, than a legal or religious nature.

23. The Mamluk Military Schools were studied in detail by Dr. D. Neustadt, Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, vol. 12, pp. 132-140, the study being a chapter of a comprehensive book on the Mamluk army of Egypt.

24. Kitāb al-Khatāj, p. 125 sq. Instead of publicans, officials with fixed salary out of the Beit al-Māl should be entrusted with the collection of taxes. The qualifications of these officials should be that of a faḥīh able to serve as a judge (p. 127). With this may be compared Tabarī's report that in the Sassanian empire the judges were charged with the supervision of the collection of taxes; e.g., reductions had to be granted by them, vol. 1, pp. 962-3; cf. A. Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, p. 362.

25. C. H. Becker, Islamstudien, vol. I, 241. cf. also A. N. Poliak, La Féodalité islamique, Revue des Études Islamiques, 1936, p. 247-265; idem, Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, etc., 1939, which deal with later developments.

26. For a detailed exposition of the new attitude cf. e.g., at-Tawḥīdī, Kitāb al-Imtā wal-Mu'ānasa, vol. 1, pp. 90-95 who corroborates it by a comparison with the successful crossing of various breeds of cattle. Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddama, part 2, para 9, maliciously remarks that only very primitive tribes are racially pure. In his polemical treatise "Against the Christians" Radd 'alan Naṣāra, p. 16, al-Jāhiz incidentally describes the Jews of his time as rude and incapable of philosophical thinking, "because an Israelite never marries any but a Jewish woman, which in breeding leads to stupidity, masākha, etc." Concerning the historical correctness of these allegations cf. J. Finkel, Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 47, p. 320.

27. The notion of the "Companion" or "Friend" of the Ruler is very old, cf. the Hebrew title Re' a Hammaelaekh "the Friend of the King" (II, Samuel, 15, 37, 16, 16, I Kings, 4, 5, I Chronicles, 27, 33) and its parallels from the Ancient East, to which the "philos" of the Hellenistic kingdoms obviously was but a continuation. However, it seems that Ibn al-Muqaffa' had a particularly high opinion of this task: Friendship with the best men of the state appeared to him as the furthestmost virtue of the ruler. It is obviously for this reason that he devotes the third part of his Ādāb al-Kabīr, which deals with the conduct of state, to the idea of friendship in general. A similar attitude prevails in Kalila wa Dimna, cf. G. Richter, Fürstenspiegel, pp. 18 and 31.

28. The most conspicuous requirements of the Persian *debir* and the Muslim *kātib*.

29. Cf. above note 10.

30. e. g., Rasā'il al-Bulāgha 61. 62. 66-67. The ruler is advised to meet the needs of the noblemen, but to suppress the base born. Cf. also above note 27.

31. Some allowance must be made for a certain degree of exaggeration, quite natural to a man in Ibn al-Muqaffa's position.

32. It is to be noted that Ibn al-Muqaffa' usually speaks of the "viziers" of a ruler in plural: e.g., Rasā'il al-Bulāgha 66, 7 (together with quranā' "coevals")

77, 12, 80, 11 (together with *dukhālā* "those that are admitted to the presence of the Caliph") 125, 10, 17 (together with *'ummāl*). This shows that in the early days of the Abbasid Caliphate *wazīr* "helper," was a general term denoting those employed in the Caliph's immediate service—another instance which proves the thesis of the gradual development of the vizierate, as expounded in *Islamic Culture*, vol. 16 (1942), pp. 255-63, 380-92.

33. *A'immat al-huda*, meaning probably the first four Caliphs and Umar II b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. In his review of David Santillana's *Compendium of Maliki Law*, (Instituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita, Roma 1926), G. Bergstraesser stresses the fact that many authentic rulings of these Caliphs have been preserved, in particular by the *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, the well-known collection of traditions. Cf. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1929, p. 278.

34. As we have seen above, note 22, Abu Yūsuf, Hārūn ar-Rashīd's Chief Justice was much less scrupulous in this respect than Ibn al-Muqaffā.

35. In Phelevi: the *Madhīghān i hazār dādhistān*, "The Account of the 1000 Decisions," written by one Farrukhmard. The Syriac collection was made by a Christian of the eighth century, cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 51-2. So far no Manichæan code of laws has become known, cf. H. J. Polotsky, *Manichæism*, Pauly Wissowa, *Real Encyclopædie*, Suppl. VI, p. 263-4.

36. A well-known story, retold, e.g., by al-Ḡhazzālī, *Ḥiyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, 1352, vol. 1, 24-25, lets Hārūn ar-Rashīd (or al-Manṣūr) say to Mālīk b. Anas, the founder of the Mālīkī *madhhab*: "I am prepared to make your compendium of religious law (the *Muwatta*) obligatory for all Muslims in the same way as the Caliph 'Uthmān has made his edition of the Qur'ān officially recognized throughout the Muslim empire. Mālīk refused to accept this offer, saying: 'The various provincial capitals have already adopted different usages and the Prophet himself has said: "the dissensions in my community are an act of grace" (a *ḥadīth* declared as "weak" by al-Ḡhazzālī). The story itself may be without historical foundation (other sources for it are quoted in *Duḥal Islam*, pp. 210-11), but it shows, like Ibn al-Muqaffā's suggestions, that the Muslims were well aware of the two possibilities referred to above. The Shi'ite theories of state, and in particular those of the Zaidiya, deserves particular study in this connection.

37. Tabari, vol. 1, 960-3. cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 361-2.

38. Abu Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 49.

39. The farmers who were unable to pay the tax were compelled to leave their land altogether. Abu Yūsuf, p. 101.

40. Abu Yūsuf, *passim*, especially pp. 57 sq. and pp. 100 sq. About *muqāsama* under al-Mamūn, cf., e.g., al-Fakhri, ed. Derenbourg, p. 218.

41. If the fervently anti-Islamic treatise ascribed to him (see above note 4), really was his, it might have been written at an earlier period of his life.

42. Cf. p. 15. The Sassanian king was a half-god "an immortal man amongst the Gods and a resplendent God amongst men" (Theophylactes IV, 8. Christensen, p. 225, note 4), he was often addressed as *mōbedh* "priest" (in Firdausi's *Shāhnameh*) and there are famous instances of founders of religious systems trying to win over the ruling monarch (Māni: Shapūr I, in 242, mazdak: Kavād I, about 500), but he was not the head of the Zoroastrian church—this was the *mōbedhan* *mōbedh*, the high-priest—nor did he act as codificator of law or religion.

THE DIWAN OF ABŪ 'ATĀ' OF SIND

[During 1943-1945, the writer carried on research work on 'History of Sind Under the Arabs,' under the guidance of Maulānā 'Abdal-'Azīz al-Maimanī, Professor and Chairman of the Arabic Department of the Muslim University, Aligarh, India. During one of the discussions on the cultural aspects of this history, Prof. al-Maimanī suggested that the verses of the poet Abū 'Atā' could be collected in one of the appendices for the general interest of 'the reader. Subsequently at my request, Prof. al-Maimanī very graciously let me use his valuable library and rare manuscripts for this purpose. It was mainly due to his kindness and encouragement that I was able to accomplish this task.

The Diwan of Abū 'Atā' is probably not extant, although he was a prolific poet according to all authoritative evidence. I have simply arranged his verses alphabetically after the rhymes. The title of 'Diwan' is ascribed in honour of the poet's memory. My main source of these verses is al-Aghānī, though effort has been made to procure even the fragments of his works from all possible quarters. In order to avoid duplication of any further efforts in this connection, I have undertaken the task of cumulative reference in the footnotes. In the abbreviation of source-books, I have generally adopted the terminology of Prof. al-Maimanī in his monumental work *Simṭ al-La'ālī*. (Yet for convenience sake a complete bibliography preceded by abbreviations has been given at the end.) As the main object of the article is to collect the poet's verses, we are not giving a comprehensive account of his life and times, or a critical appreciation of his poetry. This is a serious shortcoming which has been partly remedied by the brief English and Arabic introductions, and partly by the cumulative reference to the sources where further information could be obtained. Lastly, it may be mentioned that the writer's unexpected departure to the United States, has not only caused an unfortunate break in the completion of the above-mentioned research but has also made it difficult to consult Prof. al-Maimanī, at whose suggestion the present task was originally undertaken. Hence the writer claims the sole responsibility for any inevitable shortcomings, literary or otherwise, found in this article.

BALUCH NABI BAKHSI KHAN AL-SINDI.]

SIND, which is now a province of Pakistan, once included within its boundaries the whole of Western Pakistan and formed an integral part of the Umayyid and the 'Abbāsīd Empires during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A.D. During this period the history of Sind formed

the most illuminating chapter of the general history of the Islamic civilization. Having the resources of the leading world civilization at this period, it built up the foundations of the Indo-Islamic culture which reached its zenith in India under the great Moghul Empire (16th-18th centuries). This achievement came through the political hegemony which provided close contact with the main currents of social, cultural, scientific and literary thought throughout the vast Arab Islamic Empire. Besides, Sind was indirectly connected with Damascus and Baghdad,—the centres of Islamic civilization. The enlightened Arab Governors of Sind not only encouraged the exchange of trade and commerce, of merchants, bankers, agriculturists, technicians, cooks and other artisans, but also the exchange of scientific and literary thought through a mutual exchange of scholars and poets.

As we are here concerned with a poet we shall say a few words about the exchange of the Arab and the Sindhi poets which took place then. It was mutual and co-operative. On the one hand there were Arab poets who somehow became interested or involved in Sind affairs which formed the subject of their poetical utterances, poets like Farazdaq, Jarīr, Ā'shā Hamdān, Dhū al-Rummah and a host of others or there were those who visited Sind like Muṭī' b. Iyās (?), al-Ṣimmah b. 'Abdullāh al-Qushairī and others whose names are mentioned in accounts of early conquests, on the other hand there were the Sind poets of Arab and indigenous origin who visited Damascus and Baghdad or migrated to other parts of the Empire or they lived in Sind but their verses travelled far and wide throughout the Empire. Among them may be mentioned Abū al-Ḍilā' (or Abū al Aslā'), Maṣṣūr, Kuṣhājām, 'Abdullāh b. Swaid al-Tamīmī, 'Iyāḍ al-Sindī, Hārūn b. Mūsā and many others, the most important of them all being Abū 'Aṭā' al-Sindī.

Though widely known by his famous *kunyah* or *nom de plume*, Abū-'Aṭā' the original name of our poet seems to have been Aflaḥ and the name of his Sindhi father was Yasār. Abū. 'Aṭā' was born in Sind and brought up at al-Kūfah in Iraq, which was then one of the most famous centres of learning. Abū 'Aṭā', in spite of his native accent, seems to have imbibed not only the spirit and tradition of the Arabic language as he grew up, but also the love of Arabic poetry. He became an important poet of the Umayyids and completely associated himself with their cause. However he saw the fall of the Umayyids and the rise of the 'Abbāsids for whom he had nothing but dislike. According to one account he told some hard truths to the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr to his face. Even his poetical talent did not help him in gaining the favour of the 'Abbāsids. After finally denouncing them (*vide* rhyme الاشرار) he went into retirement and led the life of a recluse, till he died during or after the reign of al-Manṣūr (754-775 A.D.).

According to competent authorities he was a prolific poet of the highest excellence. His poetry was characterised by spontaneity, vigour and eloquence. The few verses that have been preserved for us show his

lyrical genius (*vide* rhyme (السر), his emotional intensity (جمود (اكثرا), his deep social and psychological insight (اخاء (سار), his political bias (ملهو جا (استطاعا (درهم), his poetical scruple (الاشرار), his subtle sense of wit, humour and satire (فيل (كريم (تعولينا), and his native accent (المعاني) which furnishes important clues for a philological study of the Sindi language.

Serious students of world literature in the West may have been acquainted with Abū 'Aṭā's name through a four-volume English translation of *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary* by De Slane.¹ Sir Charles Lyall, however, acquainted the general reader with the free and moving spirit of Arabic poetry through his ingenious *English Translation of Ancient Arabic Poetry*, lately reprinted in New York.² I close this English introduction with Sir Charles Lyall's translation of the poet's famous verses rhyming (السر) which illustrates the lyrical passion of the poet as much as the genius of the translator. Thus sang Abū 'Aṭā' of Sind :

“ Of thee did I dream, while spears between us were quivering—
and sooth, of our blood full deep had drunken the tawny shafts !
I know not, by Heaven I swear, and true is the work I say---
this pang, is it love-sickness, or wrought by a spell from thee.
If it be a spell, then grant me grace of my love-longing :
if other the sickness be, then none is the guilt of thine.”

1. Translated from Arabic by Bn. Mac. Guckin De Slane and published in Paris 1871. In vol. 111, pp. 438-39 is to be found the translation of verses (المعاني) about the poet's accent, while in IV/208 is translated the poet's moving elegy (جمود) in an uninspiring English prose.

2. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

ديوان أبي عطاء السندي

أبو عطاء كنيته ، ٢ والسندي ، نسبته الى السند وهي الان ولاية من ولايات المملكة الجديدة الاسلامية باكستان حرسها الله - وأما اسمه فهو أفلح ٣ بن يسار مولى أسد بن خزيمه ثم مولى عمرو بن سأك ٤ بن حصين الاسدي - منشأ الكوفة و هو من مخضرمي الدولتين مدح بنى أمية و بنى هاشم - وكان ابوه يسار سنديا عجميا لا يفصح وكان في لسان أبي عطاء لكنة شديدة ولثغة : يجعل الحيم زايا والشين سينا - فكان لا يفصح وكان له غلام فصيح ساء عطاء وتكنى به وقال : قد جعلتك ابني وسميتك بكنيتي - فكان يرويه شعره : فاذا مدح من يجتدبه او ينتجعه ، امره بانشاده ماقاله - وكان ابن كناسة يذكر انه كاتب مواليه وانهم لم يعتقوه - وكان ابو عطاء من شعراء بنى أمية ومداحهم والمنصبي الهوى اليهم وادرك دولة بنى العباس فلم تكن له فيها نباهة فهجاهم و شهد أبو عطاء حرب بنى أمية و بنى العباس فابلى وقتل غلامه عطاء مع ابن هبيرة وانهمز هو - وقيل بل كان عطاء المقتول معه لا غلامه - مات في آخرايام المنصور (غ) قال البكري : انه مات عقب أيام المنصور و دخل يوما على المنصور وهو يسحب الوشي والخز - فقال له المنصور : أنى لك هذا يا أبا عطاء ؟ فقال : كنت ألبس هذا في الزمن الصالح فلم تنكر في الزمن الطالح - ثم ولى ذاهبا فاستخفى فإذ لم يرح حتى مات المنصور (السمت ٢ . ٦) قال ابن قتيبة : هو جيد الشعر - وفي الأغاني : كان من أحسن الناس بديهة وأشد هم عارضة وتقدما - قال البكري : كان يسار سنديا اعجميا لا يفصح ، وأبو عطاء ابنه عبد أسود ، مشوه الكوفة لا يكاد يفصح أيضا بين لثغة ولكنة وهو مع ذلك أحسن الناس بديهة وأشد هم عارضة وتقدما ، شاعر فحل في طبقة أدرك الدولتين (السمت) قال المرزباني في معجم الشعراء : هو كوفي محسن - قال الاصمعي في فحولة الشعراء : أبو عطاء السندي ٥ عبد أخرب مشقوق الاذن فقال له أبو حاتم : (١) له ترجمه في غ ١٦-٤٩ ، والشعراء ٨٣-٢٨٢ ، والسمت ٢٠٢ ، والوفيات ٢-٨٦-٥٨٥ ، ٣-٢٩٠-٩١ ، والعينى خ ١-٥٦٠ ، والمرزباني ٨٠ ، والخزانة (عن البكري و ابن قتيبة) ع-١٤٠ ، وذكره في الانساب للسمعاني (السندي) -

(٢) وهو مشهور بكنيته وعده ابن حبيب في كتابه من غلب عليه الكنية دون اسمه -

(٣) [كذا قال ابن الاعرابي (الاقتضاب ٢٩٢) و غ ١٦-٤٨ ، والبكري (السمت ٢٠٢) ، وكلام البكري منقول في خ ١٦٤-٣٠ كل ذلك منقول عن السمت ٢٠٢ ، وكذا الحاسة ١-٣٠ ، والسيوطي ١٨٣ ، وفي شرح ادب الكاتب ١٢٣ : اسمه مرزوق - كذا في رواية في الشعراء ٨٢٢ والوفيات ٢-٥٨٥ . قال المرزباني ٨٠ : اسمه مرزوق أو أفلح " كذا في الوفيات ، ٣-٢٩٠ . قال العينى (خ ١-٥٦٠) : اسمه مرزوق وقيل أفلح بن يسار وهو الاصح ٥١ -

(٣) " مولى عنبر بن سأك ، كذا في العينى خ ١-٥٦٠ ، والاقتضاب ٢٩٢ ، والحاسة ١-٣٠ و غ ١٦-٤٩

(٥) كتاب فحولة الشعراء للاصمعي -

أوكان في الاعراب : قال : لاولئك فصيح ٢-٥ وفي مراتب النحويين عن الرباشي قال : ذكر أبو عطاء السندی عند الاصمعي قطع رجل على شعره فقال الاصمعي : أخبرني أبو جندل بن الراعي قال : لما دفن يزيد بن عمر بن هبيرة قال أبو عطاء : ألا أن عينا لم تجد يوم واسط (الخ الايات) - أفيقال لهذا لا يحسن - وكان في الاصمعي لجاج وخلاف - فقال الرجل والله ما ظننت عطاء يحسن هذا واذا كان الله قد علمك من شعر كل مشاعر أحسنه فأحليتنا (١-٥)

قال ابن خلكن وهذا أبو عطاء من الشعراء المجيدين . . وله في كتاب الحماسة مقاطيع نادرة : ولولا خشية الاطالة والخروج عن المقصود لذكرت جملة من شعره ا . ه . فلا شك في أن أبا عطاء كان من الشعراء المجيدين المكثرين ومن حيث لم يحفظ شعره فلا يوجد ديوانه : وان كان له ديوان فقد أكل عليه الدهر وشرب : فضاء بكرور الجديدين و مرور الزمان - ثم أردنا الى جمع شعره في زماننا هذا فاجرينا النظر في فلول الادب وقيدنا الشرذ من كلماته و صدنا الاحاد والافذا من أبياته - وهذا جميع ما عينا به واستخرجناه من اجواف كتب شتى و رتبناه على ترتيب حروف المعجم والله هو الموفق والمستعان .

(الف)

(١) - قال في عمر بن هبيرة الفزاري

ثلاث حكهن لقرم قيس طلبت بها الاخوة والثناء
رجعن على حواجهن صوف فعند الله احتسب الجزاء .

(٢) - لما أثنى أبو عطاء أعتته مولاه عنبر بن سأك الاسدي حتى ابتاع نفسه فقال يهجو :

اذا ما كنت متخذاً خليلاً فلا تثقن بكل أخى أخاء
وان خيرت بينهم فالصق باهل العقل منهم والحياء
فان العقل ليس له اذا ما تذوكرت الفضائل من لقاء
وان النوك للاحساب غول به تاوى الى داء عياء
فلا تثقن من النوكى بشى ولو كانوا بنى ماء السماء
كعنبر الوثيق بناء بيت ولكن عقله مثل الهباء
وليس بقابل أدبا فدعه وكن منه بمنقطع الرجاء

(١) الشعراء ٨٨٣ (ر: على جوا جثن) ، و عيون الاخبار ٣-١٢١ ، و العقد ٣-٣١٩ (ر: يحتسب الجزاء)

(٢) غ ١٦-٤٩ . و ١-٣ الماوردى ١٨٥ غير منسوبة و ٢ بروايه : فان خيرت بين الناس فالصق الخ

(ب)

(٣) - كان أبوعطا يقاتل المسودة وقدامه رجل من بني مرة يكنى أبايزيد وقد عقر فرسه فقال لاني عطا: أعطني فرسك حتى أقاتل عنى وعنك فقد أيقنا بالهلاك - فاعطاه أبوعطا فرسه فركبه المرى ثم مضى وترك أبا عطا فقال أبوعطا في ذلك :

لعمرك أننى وأبايزيد لكأساعى الى وضح السراب
رأيت مخيله فطمعت فيها وفى الطمع المذلة للرقاب
فأعياك من طلب ورزق كما أعياك فى سرق الدواب
وأشهد أن مرة حى صدق ولكن لست منهم فى النصاب
ولعله قال فى هذه الكلمة

وعنت دلوه حين استقلت بما فيها لتعقبة العقاب

(٤) - وقال فى المهدي قصيدة اولها :

دعاك الشوق والارب ومات بقلبك الطرب
ومثلك عن طلاب الله وان فكرت مثقل
ألا تنهاك واضحة تلوح كأنها العطب

(٥) - وفد أبوعطا على نصر بن سيار فأنشده :

قالت تريكة بيتى وهى عاتبة أن الحقام على الافلاس تعذيب
ما بال هم دخيل بات محضرا رأس النواد فنوم المعين تو جيب
انى دعانى اليك الخير من بلدى والخير عند ذوى الاحساب مطلوب

(٦) - قال حماد الراويه : أنشدت أبا عطا السندى فى أثناء حديث هذا البيت : " اذا كنت فى -أجه مرسل - فارسل حكيما و لاتوصه، فقال ابو عطا بئس ما قال فقلت كيف تقول

أنت قال ، أقول :

اذا أرسلت فى أمر رسولا فا فهمه وأرسله أدبيا
وان ضيعت ذاك فلا تلمه على ان لم يكن علم الغيوب

(٣) غ ١٦-٨٠ ، واصل حاسة البحرى ١٩٤ وشرح مختار بشار ٢٨٢ للبيت الثانى وه فى ل(عقا) برواية : أنشد أبوعمر ولعطا الاسدى (كذا) ولعل " الصواب لابي عطا ، ، وأما الاسدى ، فلا جرم فيه لانها نسبه أبى عطا الى مولاه أسد من بنى أسد .

(٣) المرزبانى ٨٠ -

(٥) غ ١٦-٨٣ -

(٦) غ ١٦-٨٣ ' ومجموعه المعانى ٢٠ -

(٤) - كثر مال أبي عطاء بعد أن أعتق فاعنته مواليه وطمعوا فيه وادعوا رقه فشكا ذلك الى اخوانه فقالوا له كاتبهم فكا تبوه على أربعة آلاف وسعى له أهل الادب والشعر فيها فتركهم واتى الحربن عبد الله القرشي وهو حليف لقريش لامن أنفسهم فقال فيه :

أنتيك لامن قربة هي بيننا ولا نعمة قدمتها استشيها
ولكن مع الراجين ان كنت موردا اليه بغاة الدين تهفو قلوبها
أغثنى بسجل من نذاك يكفني وقاك الردى مردالرجال وشيها
تسمى ابن عبد الله حرا لو صفه وتلك العلى يعنى بها من يعيها

(ت)

(٨) - كان أبو عطاء مع (يزيد بن عمر) ابن هيرة وهو يبنى مدينته التي على شاطئ الفرات فاعطى ناسا كثيرا صلوات ولم يعطه شيئا فقال :

قصائد حكتهن لقرم قيس رجعن الى صفرا خائبات
رجعن وما أفان على شيئا سوى انى وعدت الترهات
أقام على الفرات يزيد حولا فقال الناس أيتها الفرات
فيا عجباً لبحر بات يسقى جميع الخلق لم يبلل لهاقي

فقال له يزيد : وكم يبل لهاك يا أبا عطاء ؟ قال : عشرة آلاف درهم - فامر ابنه بدفعها اليه - ففعل - فقال يمدح ابنه : أما ابوك الخ (راجع قافية الدال) -

(٩) - قال ابو عطاء وتعرضت له امرأة صاحبه :

رب بيضاء كالقضيبي تثنى قد دعتنى لو صلها فاييت
ليس شانى تخرجا غير أنى كنت ندمان زوجها فاستحييت

(ج)

(١٠) - أمر أبو جعفر (المنصور) الناس بلبس السواد : لبسه أبو عطاء فقال :
كسبت ولم أكر من الله نعمة سوادا الى لوني ودنا ملهوجا
و بايعت كرها بيعة بعد بيعة مبهرجة ان كان أمرا مبهرجا

(٤) غ ١٦-٤٨ -

(٨) غ ١٦-٨١ (ر : لعدم قيس . . خاليات) ، وعيون الاخبار ٣- ١٥٢ (ماعدا الثانى) والعينى خ ٥٦-١ -

(٩) البيان ٣- ١٩٦

(١٠) غ ١٦-٨٢

(٥)

(١١) - أمر يزيد بن عمر بن هبيرة ابنه المثنى (الامالى ٥٠) بدفع عشرة الاف درهم لابي عطاء، فقال يمدح ابنه :

أما ابوك فعين الجود نعرفه وأنت أشبه خلق الله بالجود
لولا يزيد ولولا قبله عمر ألفت اليك معد بالمقاييد
ما ينبت العود الا فى أرومته ولا يكون الجنى الا من العود

(١٢) قال ابو عطاء يرثى يزيد بن عمر بن هبيرة حين قتله ابو جعفر (المنصور) بواسط بعد ان آمنه :

ألا ان عينا لم تجد يوم واسط عليك بجارى دسعتها لجمود
عشية قام النائمات وشقت جيوب بايدي ماتم و حدود
فان تمس مهجور الفناء فر بما أقام به بعد الوفود وفود
فانك لم تبعد على متعهد بلى كل من تحت التراب بعيد

(١٣) - كان أبو عطاء منقطعاً في طريق مكة و خباؤه مطروح فمر به نهيك بن معبد العطار دى فقال : لمن هذ الخبا الملقى ؟ فقبل لاني عطاء السندى - فبعث غلماناً به فضربوا له خبا

(١١) غ ٨١-١٦ وفى ذيل الامالى ٥٠ أنشدها أبو على القالى [و كذا روى الاصبهاني (٨١-١٦) وعنه العيني خ ٥٦-١ وروى ابن عبدربه (٢٥٢-٣) والشاعر هو أبو دلامد ، وانظر البيهقي ٢٣-٢ والايات ستة فى خبر) البيت الاول لشاعر فى على بن دالود الهاشمى ويتلوه : "كان ديباحى خديه من ذهب - اذا تعصب فى أثوابه السود" ، [التحقيق بين (القوسين) للاستاذ فى ذيل السط ٢٣ -

(١٢) الشعراء ٣٨٣ والطبرى ٣-٤ ومراتب النحويين ، والعقد ٣١-٢ (ر : عشية راح الدافنون الخ) أمالى ١-١ والوفيات ٣-٩١-٢٩ ، وخ ١٦٤-٣ (مع شرحها ١٢٩-٣) ، والحجاسة (باب المراثى) ١٥١-٥٢-٢ ، والمقطعات ١٠٢ ، والحصيرى ٣-٢١٣ ، والاقطصاب ٢٩٢ ، وخ ١٦٤-٣ وفيه كالمرتضى ١٦١-١ أنها لمعن بن زائدة وكان من أكبر أعوانه [التحقيق بين (القوسين) للاستاذ فى السط ٦٠٢ - والبيت الاول فى ادب الكاتب ٢٣ ، المعاهد ، والبيتان ٢-١ فى شرح ادب الكاتب ١٢٣ ، والاضداد ٦٤ ، و امرأة الجنان ١-٢٤٨ ، والاقطصاب ٢٩٢ ، ٢ فى ل تحت (أتم) و ٣-٣ فى ل تحت (عهد) وقد عزى رثاء أبى عطاء لعمر بن هبيرة فى الاقطصاب والشعراء ولا يراهم بن هبيرة فى العقد - وقيل رثاه بها معن بن زائدة الشيبانى (خ ١٦٤-٣) - ولكن الصواب انه رثى فى هذه الايات يزيد بن عمر بن هبيرة لا غير كما فى الطبرى والوفيات والحجاسة و سط اللالى - قال الطبرى : ألح السفاح على المنصور بقتل يزيد بعد أن آمنه - قتل وهو ساجد اه فارق لذلك أبو عطاء لانه كان مادحاً له وملحقاً به - وزد الى ذلك صلة النسل بينهم - لان كانت ام يزيد بن عمر بن هبيرة سندية ايضا (راجع المعارف ٢٠٨) .

(١٣) غ ٨٢-١٦ -

و بعث اليه بالطاف و كسوة - فقال من صنع هذا؟ قالوا: نهيك بن معبد - فنادى
باعلى صوته يقول:

إذا كنت مرتاد الرجال لنفعهم فناد بصوت يا نهيك بن معبد

(١٣) - و هب نصر بن سيار لاني عطأ جارية فلما أصبح غدا على نصر فسال عنه نصر - فقال :
قد كان شيء من معنى من بعض نومي - فقال : وهل قلت في ذلك شعرا؟ قال : نعم
وأنشد :

ان النكاح و ان هربت لصالح خلف لعينك من لذيذ المرقد

(ر)

(١٥) - قال أبو عطا:

إذا المرء لم يطلب معاشا لنفسه
و صار على الادين كلا و أوشكت
فسر في بلاد الله و التمس الغنى
و ما يدرك الحاجات من حيث تبغى
ولا ترض من عيش بدون ، ولا تم
شكا الفقر، أو لام الصديق فاكثرا
صلات ذوى القربى له أن تنكرا
تعش ذايسار أو تموت فتعذرا
من الناس ، الا من أجد و شمرا
و كيف ينام الليل من كان معسرا

(١٦) - قال أبو عطا:

ذكرتك والخطي يخطر بيننا
فوالله ما أدري واني لصادق
فان كان سحرافا عذريني على الهوى
وقد نهلت منا المثقفة السمر
أداء عراني من حبابك أم سحر
وان كان داء غيره فلك العذر

(١٣) بدائع البدائ ٨٢ ، و غ ١٦-٨١ - فقال نصر

ذاك الشقاء فلا تظن غيره ليس المشاهد مثل من لم يشهد ،

(١٥) الايات ١-٣، ه في غ ١٦-٢٨ نسبها الا صبهاني لاني عطأ وعدها من الاصوات المشهورة والغناء
لأبراهيم - والايات كلها ١-٥ - في الباب ٢٢ منسوبة إلى النابغة، و في عيون الاخبار ١-٣، ٢ غير
منسوبة - والبيت الاول في كتاب الادب والانشاء في الصداقة والصديق ٢١، والرابع (٣) لاني عطأ
في حاسة البحرى وحده ١٢٥ وكذا روايته - ١-٣ في مجموعة المعاني ١٢٩، و ١، ٣، ٥ في كتاب
الاداب لابن شمس الخلفه ٩٩ .

(١٦) الحماسة ١-٣، و كتاب الزهرة ٢٠٠، و السيوطي ١٨٣، والبيت الثاني والثالث في السمط ٣-٣٠٣
[و الثاني نسبة السيوطي ٦٣ لعابد المنذر العسيري وها (٣-٢) في العيني ٣-٨١ لقائدين المنذر
القشيري] - التحقيق بين (القوسين) للاستاذ في السمط ٣٠٣ - والبيت الثاني في ل (حجب)
لاني عطأ مولى بني أسد -

(١٤) - لماولى ابوالعباس مدح أبوعطاء بنى العباس وكان بباب السفاح وبنو هاشم يدخلون ويخرجون فقال :

ان الخيار من البرية هاشم وبنو أمية ارذل الاشرار
وبنو أمية عودهم من خروج ولهاشم فى المجد عودنضار
أما الدعاة الى الجنان فهاشم وبنو أمية من دعاة النار
وبهاشم زكت البلاد وأعشبت وبنو أمية كالسراب الجارى
فلم يوذّن له فى الدخول ولا وصله أحد من الهاشميين فولى وهو يقول :
ياليت جوربنى مرو ان عاد لنا وان عدل بنى العباس فى النار
(١٨) - وقال فى رثاء نصر بن سيار :

فاضت دموعي على نصر وما ظلمت عين تفيض على نصر بن سيار
يانصر من اللقاء الحرب ان لقحت يا نصر بعدك أوللضيف والجار
ألخند فى الذى يعمي حقيقته فى كل يوم مخوف الشروالعار
والقائد الخيل قبا فى أعنتها بالقوم حتى يلف الغار بالغار
من كل أبيض كالمصباح من مضر يجلو بسنته الظلم للساير
ماض على الهول مقدام اذا اعترضت سمرالرماح وولى كل فرار
ان قال قولاً وفى بالقول موعدة ان الكنانى واف غير غدار

(ط)

(١٩) - بعث ابراهيم بن الاشر الى أبوعطاء ببيتين من شعروساله أن يضيف اليهما بيتين من رويهما وقافيتهما - وهما :

وبلدة يزدهى الجنان طارقها قطعنا بكناز اللحم معتاطه
وهنا وقد حلق النسران أو كريا وكانت الدلو بالجوزاء متناطه
فقال أبوعطاء :

فانجاب عنها قميص الليل فابتكرت تسير كالفحل تحت الكور لطاطه
فى أينق كلما حث الحداة بها بدت مناسمها هوجاء حطاطه

(١٤) البيهقى ١-٩٢، وعنه السمعط ٩٠٣ : والايات الثلاثة الاولى مع الخبر فى الشعراء ٨٨٣، والبيت الاخر ياليت الخ غ ١٦-٨١ -

(١٨) غ ١٦-٨١، والحماسة البصريه (خطية ١٩٠) - خبرها فى غ أن ابا عطاء مدح أبا جعفر فلم يشبهه فآظهر الانحراف عنه لعلمه بمذهبه فى بنى أمية فعاوده بالمدح فقال له : ألسنت القائل فى عدوانه الفاجر نصر بن سيار ترثيه فاصنت دموع الخ (الايات) - والله لا أعطيك بعد هذا شيئاً أبداً - فخرج من عنده وقال عدة قصائد يذمه فيها منها : فليت جو راليت البيت (واختلف خبر ذلك فى الشعراء ٨٨٣) -

(١٩) غ ١٦-٨٢ -

(ع)

- (٢٠) - مقال منحرفا عن بنى العباس :
- ليس الله يعلم أن قلبى
يحب بنى أمية ما استطاعا
وماى أن يكونوا أهل عدل
ولكنى رأيت الامراضا
- (٢١) - قال ابو عطاء بن يسار السندي من شعراء الدولتين :

ويوم كيوم البعث ما فيه حاكم
ولا عاصم الاثنا و دروع
حبست به نفس على موقف الردى
حفاظا وأطراف الرماح شروع
وما يستوى عند الملأت ان عرت
صبور على مكروهاها وجزوع

(ق)

- (٢٢) - قال ابو عطاء للامير نصر بن سيار : أصلحك الله انى قد امتدحك ، فاذن لى أن أنشدك
قال : انى لى شغل ولكن ائت تميمًا فاتاه فأنشده فحمله على بردون أبلق - فقال له نصر :
من الغد ما فعل بك تميم - فقال :
- لئن كان أغلق باب الندى
فقد فتح الباب بالابلق
- (٢٣) - ولعله قال :

سودت فلم أسلك سوادى وتحت
قميص من القوهى بيض بنائقه
ولا خير فى ودامرئى متكاره
عليك ولا فى صاحب لا توافقه
فان شئت فافضه فلا خير عنده
وان شئت فاجعله خيلا تصادقه

(٢٠) غ ١٦-٨١ -

- (٢١) الجلسه البصريه (خطبه ٦) - والبيت الثالث فى مجموعة المعانى ٢-١ بروايه : وقال السندى :
ولن يستوى عند الملأت ان عرت
صبور على لاواها وجزوع ، ايه

(٢٢) غ ١٦-٨٢ -

- (٢٣) عزاه صاحب اللسان لآبى عطاء مرتين (رهو) و (رخف) بروايه : " قميص من القوهى رخف
بنائقه ومرة لنصيب (قوه) ، أنشدها ابو على فى الامالى ٢ - ٩ لنصيب ، قال البكرى : نسبها
الاصبهانى مرة [الدار ٢-٣٥٠ ، وتزيين الاسواق ٨٣] لنصيب واخرى لعبد بنى الحسحاس (٢-٢٠)
وقد قرأه فى عزوه مرة لنصيب واخرى لآبى عطاء (ذيل اللالى فى السمط ٣-٩٥)
[وعزاه الحصري ٢ - ٣٨٠ ، وشارح حازم ٢-٩٥ لنصيب - وفى غ ٣ - ٦٠ ابيات اخرى
من القافيه] - التحقيق بين (التوسين) للاستاذ فى السمط ٣-٩٥ .

(ل)

(٢٣) - من مديحه في سليمان بن مجالد :

فما بذلت يمينك من يمين ولا بذلت شمالك عن شمال

(٢٥) - أنشد أبو عطاء نصر بن سيار قوله فيه :

وهيكل يقال في جلاله تقصر أيدي الناس عن قذاله

جعلت أوصالي على أوصاله انك حال على أمثاله

(٢٦) - قال أبو عطاء يعير عبيد الله بن العباس الكندي باتباعه الضحاك الخارجي وقد قتل أخاه

جعفرا :

قل لعبيد الله لو كان جعفر هو الحي لم ينجح وأنت قتيل

ولم يتبع المراق والثارفيهم وفي كفد غضب الذباب صقيل

إلى معشر أوردوا أخاك وأكفروا أباك فإذا بعد ذلك تقول

(م)

(٢٧) - قال يهجو بني هاشم :

بني هاشم عودوا إلى نخلاتكم فقد قام سعر التمر صاع بدرهم

فان فلتهم رهط النبي وقومه فان النصاري رهط عيسى بن مريم

(٢٨) - دخل إلى أبي عطاء السندي خيف فاتاه بطعام فاكل وأتاه بشراب وجلسا يشربان - فنظر

أبو عطاء إلى الرجل يلاحظ جاريته - فأنشأ يقول :

كل هنيئا وما شربت مريثا ثم قم صاغرا فغير كريم

لا أحب النديم يومض بالطرف إذا ما خلا بعرس النديم

(٢٩) غ ١٦-٨٣ وخبر البيت قام راوية بن عطاء ينشد سليمان مديحا لابي عطاء وأبو عطاء جالس لا يتكلم

اذ قال الراوية في انشاده :

'فما فضلت يمينك عن يمين ولا فضلت شمالك من شمال

هكذا بالرفع - فغضب أبو عطاء وقال : "ويلك فما مدهته اذا اتما هزوته، يريد ما مدهته اذا اتما هجوته -

ثم أنشده أبو عطاء : فمابذلت أليخ البيت -

(٣٥) غ ٢٦-٨٣ -

(٣٦) الطبري ٢-١٩٠ وعنه ابن الأثيره ٥-١٥٩ والبيتان ٣ ثم في البيان ١-٢٣٢ -

(٣٧) الشعراء ٣٨٣، والبكري (السمط ٦٠٣) وعنه غ ٣-١٤٠ -

(٣٨) البيان ٣-١٩٦ وغ ١٦-٨٣ -

فقلت شاني كله أننى فى تعب من نغظ جردانى
يا ابن سليم أنت لى عصمة من حدث أفزع حيرانى
فقد رمانى الدهر عن فقره بسهم ، فقر غير لغبان
صاد فوادى بعد ما قدسلا فصرت كالمقتبل العانى
فانعش فدتك النفس منى ومن أطاعنى من جل اخوانى
وهب فدتك النفس لى طفلة يقمع حرها رأس شيطانى
فان الخ
فالله ثم الله فى قمعه من قبل أن أنى بسلطان
يتركنى أنجوكة بعدما أضرب فى سرو اعلان
فامرله بجاريه قندهاريه فقال :

أحصننى الله بكفى قى مهذب من سر قحطان
من حمير أهل السدى والندى وعصمة الخائف والجانى
ياخير خلق الله أنت الذى أياست من فسقى شيطانى

(٣١) - وقال فى هجاء بغلة أبى دلامة :

أبغل أبى دلامة مت هزلا عليه بالسخا تعوليننا
دواب الناس تقضم ملمخالى وأنت مهانة لاتتضميننا
سليه البيع واستعدى عليه فانك أن تباعى تسمنينا

(٣٢) - عن المدائنى أن يحيى بن زياد الحارثى وحمادا الراوية كان بينهما وبين المعلى بن هبيرة ما يكون مثله بين الشعراء والرواة من النفاسة وكان المعلى بن هبيرة يحب أن يطرح

(٣١) غ ٨٢-١٦ وكانت هذه الايات سبب هجاء أبى دلامة بغلته لان أبى عطاء هجاها - فخاف أبى دلامة ان تشتهر بذلك فباعها وهجاها بقصيدته المشهورة - الميمنى ! مل مخالى مخفف من المخالى ولاتتضميننا صوابه لاتتضميننا بالقاف -

(٣٢) الحكاية من غ ٨٢-١٦ وتوجد على غير هذا السياق أو باختلاف قليل فى الشعراء ٨٣ و عنه خ ١٢٠-٣ والعقد ٣-٨٥٦ والوفيات ٢-٨٦-٥٨٥ وفى بدائع البدائى ٣-٣١ عن العسكرى برواية :

البيت الثانى : (تزددنى) والقران بها عليها بصير ا بالمقا طع والمبانى
والبيت الثالث : فإسم حديدة فى ا رمح ترسى دوين الصدر ليست بالسنان ؟
والبيت الثامن : وذلك (مسزدا) أنساه قدما (بنو سيطان) (ماروف) المكان
يعنى (مسجدا) ، (بنو شيطان) (معروف) -

والبيت الخامس فى ل (عوف) قال : أنشد ابوالغوث لابی عطاء السندى وقيل لحجاد الرواية :
فما صفرا الخ البيت -

حامداني لسان شاعر يهجو - قال حماد الراوية فقال لي يوما بمحضرة يحيى بن زياد :
أقول لأبي عطاء السندي أن يقول في (زج) و (جرادة) و (مسجد بني شيطان) ؟
قال ، فقلت له : فأتجعله لي على ذلك ؟ قال : بغلتي بسر جها ولجابهها - قلت :
فعد لها على يدي يحيى بن زياد - ففعل و أخذت عليه موثقاً بالوفا - وجاء أبو عطاء
السندي فجلس الينا وقال : مرهبا مرهبا عياكم الله (اي مرحبا مرحبا كما الله) - فرجعت
به و عرضت عليه العشاء فقال : لا حاجة لي به . (اي حاجة) - فقال : أعندكم ن ؟
فاتيناه بنبيذ كان عندنا - فشرب حتى احمرت عيناه واسترخت غلاييه - ثم قلت : يا
أبا عطاء ان انسانا طرح علينا أبياتا فيها لغز ولست أقدر على اجابته ألبته ومنذ أسس الى
الان ما يستوى لي منها شي ففرج عني - قال : هات -

فقلت : أبني لي ان سئلت أبا عطاء يقينا كيف علمك بالمعاني ؟
فقال أبو عطاء : خير عالم فاسال (تزدني) بها (تبا) وآيات المثاني
فقلت : فما اسم حديدة في راس رمح دوين الكعب ليست بالسنان ؟
فقال أبو عطاء : هو (الزز) الذي ان بات (ديفا) لصدرك لم تزل لك (أولتان)
قلت فرج الله عنك تعني الزج -
فقلت : فإصفراء تدعى أم عوف كان رجيلتيها منجلان
فقال أبو عطاء - أردت (زرادة) و (أزن زنا) بانك ما أردت سوى لسانى
قلت فرج الله عنك أطل بقاءك

فقلت : أتعرف مسجدا لبنى تميم فويق الميل دون بنى أبان ؟
فقال أبو عطاء : (بنو شيطان) دون بنى أبان كترت أهلك من (أبدالمدان)
قال حماد : فرأيت عينيه قد احمرتا و عرفت الغضب في وجهه و تخوفته - فقلت :
يا أبا عطاء ! هذا مقام المستجير بك و لك النصف مما أخذته - قال : فاصدقني : قال :
فاخبرته - فقال لي : اولى لك ، قد سلمت و سلم لك جعلك - خذ بورك لك فيه - ولا
حاجة لي فيه - فاخذته و انقلب أبو عطاء يهجو المعلى بن هبيرة ٢١ هـ .
والظاهر أن أبا عطاء رحمه الله ، لم يرد في أبياته الا (تجدني) ، و (طبيا) ، و (الزج) ،
(ذيفا) ، و (عولتان) ، و (جرادة) ، و (أظن ظنا) ، و (بنو شيطان) ، و (عبدالمدان)
ثم نجد في زماننا أن هنود الهند كثيرا ما يحرفون الالفاظ السندية أيضا (فضلا عن
الا لفاظ العربية المروجة في السندية) فهم يجعلون الشين سينا والزاء جيا
ويقولون سائين (سائين = سيد) و هجار (هزار = الف) و كاجي (= قاضي) وعلى مثل ذلك -
فهذه الحكاية الطريفة مفيدة جدا لتحقيق اللغة السندية و ارتقائه في القرون الماضية -

DHULFIQĀR KHĀN NUṢRAT JANG— GREAT MUGHAL STATESMAN OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE lives and careers of eminent statesmen, soldiers and men of letters at the Court of the Mughals have hitherto not received as much attention from historians as they deserve, although a stage has been reached when such studies are becoming increasingly more necessary. Dhulfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang, son of Aurangzib's vizier Asad Khān, and himself Mīr Bakhshī of that sovereign during the last five years of his reign, must, undoubtedly be considered among the most important and influential personages of his time. His active career covers the last critical eighteen years of Aurangzib's life and the first twelve years of the period following his death, i.e., the period in which a profound change was effected in the fortunes of the Mughal Empire, and this only enhances the importance of a study of his life and politics. Rising into prominence during the Deccan wars, he seems to have realised while engaged in the siege of Jinjī, that the Maratha problem could not be solved by a policy of force alone. In conjunction with some of the more realistic statesmen of his time, he, therefore, seems to have urged a more conciliatory policy upon Aurangzib, and after the latter's death, he took the lead in departing from his policy. It was not till Jahāndār Shāh came to the throne with Dhulfiqār Khān's support in 1712, however, that the latter found an opportunity of carrying out his policy.

Dhulfiqār's policies for the conciliation of the "external" enemies of the empire, i.e., the Rajputs, Marathas, etc., were paralleled by a new and ingenious scheme for internal reorganisation aimed at decentralising authority and transferring real power from the hands of the monarch to those of the vizier. Thus, Dhulfiqār's career also illustrates the growth of the power of the nobility in the latter part of Aurangzib's reign, the decline in the prestige of monarchy, and the beginning of a struggle for power between the monarch and the nobility.

In this paper, based on a careful study of all the available contemporary

records and the valuable Jaipur Records, an attempt has been made to trace the career of Dhulfiqār Khān, and to study the development of his policy and assess its significance in the history of the Mughal empire.

Muḥammad Ismā'il (Dhulfiqār Khān)¹ was born in 1657. His mother was Mihrun-nisā, the daughter of Āṣaf Khān Āṣaf Jāhī. His grandfather, Dhulfiqār Khān Qarāmānlu came to India from Irān in the time of Shāh Jahān, to escape the wrath of the Persian Shāh, and received an appointment at the Mughal Court. His father, Asad Khān, was a favourite of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, and was second Bakhshī at the time of Aurangzib's victory over Dāra. Muḥammad Ismā'il (Dhulfiqār Khān) was marked out for prominence from his very birth. He received his first appointment when he was only eleven years old, and he further strengthens his connections by marrying the daughter of Amīru-l-Umarā Shāistā Khān in 1677, receiving the title of I'tiqād Khān at this time. He made his mark by the capture of Fort Raheri in 1689 along with the sons of Shambhāji and all his family, and received the rank of 3000 dhāt, 2000 sawārs, and the title of Dhulfiqār Khān in reward. He was, thereafter, sent against Panhālā. But the real career of Dhulfiqār Khān may be said to begin with his nomination in 1689 to the command of an army for the capture of Fort Jinjī. It was an important command, for Jinjī occupied a key position in Aurangzib's strategy of the Maratha war. With Jinjī in his hand, the Maratha second line of defence so assiduously created by Shivāji would be broken, and Mahārāshtra could then be surrounded from three sides and conquered piecemeal.

Dhulfiqār's record in the siege was not brilliant. He was engaged in the campaign for nearly six years, at the end of which he captured Jinjī but the most important prize, Raja Rām, escaped him. Aurangzib was far from pleased at this excessive delay and at the escape of Raja Rām which threw all his plans out of gear. However, he rewarded Dhulfiqār Khān with a rise of 1000 horse, thus making him 5000 dhāt, 5000 sawārs.² In 1702, he was made "Mīr Bakhshī" in place of Bahram Khān and given a roving commission for dealing with the Marathas. Thus, by the turn of the century, Asad and Dhulfiqār Khān occupied the two highest civil and military posts in the empire. Their strength might be gauged from the fact that the father and son between them commanded 13,000 horse, and 13000 foot, and, if the troops of their more important protégés like Dā'ūd Khān Panni, Rām Singh Hādā and Dalpat Bundelā were included,

1. References to the family history and early career of Dhulfiqār Khān are as follows :—

M.U. i—310, ii—93 ; K.K. 32, 49, 73, etc., ; M.A. 102, 123, 318—9 and passim.

2. Irvine, ii, p. 9, is not correct in saying that the title of Nuṣrat Jang was conferred on him at this time. According to M.U. ii-97, he was accorded this title in the 39th regnal year (1696), when he was also made 5000 dhāt, 4000 horse.

the figure rose to 24,500 dhāt and 24,000 horse.¹

The political views of Dhulfiqār Khān seem to have matured gradually while he was engaged in the siege of Jinjī. Although it was widely believed in contemporary circles that Dhulfiqār was in league with the Marathas, and for long deliberately refrained from taking Jinjī,² and, finally, even colluded in the escape of Rāja Rām,³ the charge is difficult to substantiate for we have nothing beyond vague statements. However, local understandings between commanders and their opposite numbers were nothing unusual for the age, and the existence of such an understanding between Dhulfiqār and the Marathas cannot be ruled out.⁴ But too much political importance need not be attached to this. Probably Dhulfiqār's resources were not equal to the task of taking Jinjī.⁵ In 1693, Asad Khān himself, faced with difficulties of supply and internal differences in the Mughal camp, concluded a pact with the Marathas for permitting the safe withdrawal of the Mughal armies around Jinjī through the payment of a sum of money. Dhulfiqār, at the time, was reported to have been opposed to this pact as being dishonourable.⁶ The charge about colluding in the escape of Rāja Rām is more serious, but Aurangzib himself does not seem to have placed much credence in it as is shown by his continued high favour towards Dhulfiqār.

1. This is made up as follows:—

			<u>Dhāt</u>	Horse
Asad <u>Khān</u>	..	..	7,000	7,000
<u>Dhulfiqār</u>	..	..	6,000	6,000
Dā'ūd <u>Khān</u>	..	..	6,000	6,000(?)
Ramsing Hādā	..	..	2,500	2,000(?)
Dalpat Bundelā	..	..	3,000	3,000
Total	..	..	24,500	24,000

The real strength would be somewhat less than this paper strength.

For the careers of Dā'ūd Khān, Rām Singh Hādā, and Dalpat Bundelā, see M.U. ii-63, ii-323, ii-325.

2. Francois Martin, who was in close touch with Jinjī, writes "Asad Khān and Dhulfiqār Khān planned to establish themselves as independent sovereigns in the southern peninsula with the kingdom of Golkunda in their share, and the kingdom of Bijapur as the share of Raja Ram."

The fact of collusion is also noted by the English Factory Records, (5 November, 1696) and Manucci (iii-271). But Persian records are silent. (M.U. ii-98 mentions nothing about Dhulfiqār's alleged project of independence in the Deccan).

3. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Aurangzib*, v-107), followed by Kincaid and Parsnis, ii p. 288, and Faruqi, p.39, are inclined to accept this charge. After examining all the evidence, Rai Sahib S.G. Sardesai, ("New History of the Maratha People" pp. 352-4) has, however, come to the opposite conclusion.

4. Thus Bhimsen says (ff. 123a, 106a)—"If he had wished, he could have captured the Fort on the very day that he reached Jinjī. But it is the practice of generals to prolong operations and again, "God alone knows what policy he followed."

5. K. & P. ii-77-9. Cf. Sarkar's '*Aurangzib*,' v-pp. 97, 100.

6. K.K. ii-419 and Sarkar v-90; K. & P. ii-85 wrongly date this event in 1696. There is no mention of any wider issues like a general peace settlement between the Mughals and the Marathas being involved, but as K. & P. say, Rāja Ram may have hoped that Asad Khān's ingratitude would induce the aged Emperor to make peace with the Marathas.

The first definite move concerning a general peace between the Marathas and the Mughals, in which Dhulfiqār participated, does not seem to have been made before 1697. In that year Rāja Rām sent his natural son Karna, through the mediation of Rām Singh Hādā, to Dhulfiqār Khān, and proposed peace on certain conditions.¹ Neither the proposed terms, nor Dhulfiqār's personal reactions to the offer are known to us. It seems that Dhulfiqār was in favour of a compromise being struck. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that the emperor, while rejecting the terms, sternly ordered Dhulfiqār to carry the siege to a conclusion.²

A second effort at peace seems to have been made in January, 1698, after the fall of Jinjī. We are told that Asad Khān urged the emperor to end the war in the Deccan in an honourable way and even induced him to open negotiations with the Marathas. But Rāja Rām asked for the release of Shāhū before he would end operations. Aurangzib rejected the proposal and dismissed the Maratha envoys.³

From the foregoing facts it is fairly clear that by the time Jinjī fell, not only Dhulfiqār, but his father Asad Khān were inclined to favour a compromise with the Marathas. Their motives can only be guessed at. They may have sincerely believed that a lasting peace with the Marathas was possible and that the Maratha claim for chauth and sardeshmukhi over imperial territories could be accepted without any grave damage to the body-politic of the empire. Or they may have simply desired peace in order to gain a temporary respite for the empire to recoup its strength and marshal its resources and begin the war anew at some more favourable opportunity - a course which seems also to have been favoured by some of the more realistic statesmen of the time. Thus, Khān-i-Jahān, who was very free with the emperor, had censured Imperial operations in the Deccan, and expressed himself in favour of peace.⁴ In 1700, Rūhullah Khān Mīr Bakhshī brought proposals from Tārā Bāi for peace on condition of granting swarājya (except five forts) and sardeshmukhi only.⁵ In 1703, the emperor himself made an effort to reach a settlement with the Marathas through Kām Bakhsh. He was prepared to release Shāhū, though what he desired in return is not quite clear. According to a later

1. Bhimsen.

2. *Ibid*: Aurangzib had threatened to disgrace Dhulfiqār Khān and remove him from command if he failed to take Jinjī.

3. K. & P. ii-91-2.

4. Bhimsen.

5. *Akhbārāt*, 12 March, 1700, K.K. (ii-626, 782) states that Tārā Bāi asked for 9 per cent. as sardeshmukhi, but that "for the honour of Islam and for other reasons Aurangzib rejected the proposal." Also, Siyar, i-110 (Mustafa's Translation).

Both these writers place this event "towards the end of Aurangzib's reign," but presumably refer to this offer of Tārā Bāi in 1700.

writer, Aurangzib was prepared to grant sardeshmukhi.¹ But a settlement could not be reached.

At last Aurangzib turned towards Dhulfiqār Khān who was "very intimate with Shāhū and had long been interested in his affairs"² and in 1706, transferred Shāhū to Dhulfiqār's camp to induce the Maratha generals to make peace with the emperor, and secure Shāhū's release. But Maratha suspicion of the emperor's motive was very great, and Dhulfiqār's conciliatory letters seem to have had no effect.³

It was at this stage that Aurangzib died. A civil war between the royal princes became inevitable, and Dhulfiqār Khān hurried north from the Tungabhadra Doab to join prince A'zam. It was during his march to North India that A'zam, at the instance of Dhulfiqār Khān, took two important steps. First of all, near the Narmada, Shāhū with 50-70 of his followers was released or allowed to escape.⁴ It does not seem correct to

1. *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Khān* (Rampur Lib. MS., and Elliot, *iii*, 259), "Towards the close of His Majesty's (Aurangzib's) life-time, a truce was concluded with the Marathas on these terms, viz., that nine per cent. (Elliot says 3%, but the original MS. reads سر صدہ روپیہ ہر دیشمکھی مراد داد) of the revenues drawn from the imperial dominions in the Dakhin should be allotted to them by way of sardeshmukhi; and accordingly Ahsan Khan commonly known as Mir Malik (Malang) set out from the threshold of royalty with the documents confirming this grant to the Marathas in order that, after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the chiefs of that tribe to the court of the monarch of the world. However, before he had time to deliver these documents in their custody, a royal mandate was issued, directing him to return and bring back the papers in question with him."

K.K.'s account (ii-520) is in substantial agreement with this and the fact of Mir Malang's visit to the Maratha camp borne out, though the author does not state anything about Aurangzib's offer regarding sardeshmukhi. This is not improbable, however, and I am inclined to accept the version of Ibrāhīm Khān who seems to have had access to some state papers not known to us. *Khazānah-i-'Āmirah*, p. 72 supports Ibrāhīm Khān. Sir Jadunath makes no mention of the grant of sardeshmukhi.

Duff i-445, followed by Ranade, p. 226, says Aurangzib was, for a time, prepared to grant ten per cent. as sardeshmukhi. The event is however, wrongly placed in 1705 and no authority is cited.

K. & P. ii-111-2 and Sardesai ("New History of Maratha People" p. 356) have asserted, perhaps on the basis of Manucci [iii-499 "Aurangzib tries to sow dissension among the Marathas by releasing Shahu, granting him the Chauth (of the Deccan) and leaving Kam Bakhsh as governor of Bijapur, Golconda and the two Karnataks and himself retiring to Delhi."] that Aurangzib had consented to the grant to the Maratha Government of chauth and sardeshmukhi and the restoration of Shivaji's kingdom (Swarajya). I find no reference about the recognition of chauth, in any Persian authority. In such an important matter, Manucci, uncorroborated by any other writer, would seem to be an extremely unreliable authority.

2. K.K. ii-581. According to some sources, at the capture of Raigarh, Dhulfiqār had given an undertaking to Yeshubai that he would look after and protect Shāhū. (K. & P. ii-69-70).

3. Bhimsen, ff-154b, 155a; M.A. 511.

4. *Rajwade* ii- p. 9. K.K. ii- 581-2 followed by M.U. ii-351 states that Dhulfiqār Khān who had long been interested in Shāhū's affairs "released" him. Duff i-304, Irvine ii-162, Sardesai (*Riyasat-Madhyā*) i-2, Sinha (*Rise of the Peshwas*, p. XII) follow Khafī Khān.

Bhimsen ii-163a states, however, that A'zam connived at Shāhū's escape

به اشاره عالیجاه . . . فرار اختیار نمود

Bhimsen was in Dhulfiqār's camp, and his view is accepted by Sarkar (v-207) and Dr. Raghbir Sinha ("Malwa in Transition," f. m. pp. 92-3 which see). Bhimsen is also supported by an entry in the *Bahadur Shāh Nāmāh* (Rampur MS. p. 144) and a wāqī'anavis's report in the *Aḥbārāt* (14, October, 1707). The entry in the B.N. reads:-

راجہ ساہو کہ ساهی شدہ از شقاوت جلی و شرارت طبعی فرار کردہ ارادہ بغض و فساد داشت و بنا براین از منصب ہفت ہزاری و ہفت ہزار سوار برطرف شدہ بود و چون توبہ و استغفار نمودہ منصبش را بحال فرمودند۔

Dr. V. G. Dighe in his book "Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion," p. 86 argues that Shāhū could not have run away as it was easy for A'zam to recapture him if he wanted. This objection is, however, ruled out by Bhimsen's remark that Shāhū's escape was connived at. In fact, both A'zam and Dhulfiqār seem to have been agreed that Shāhū should be allowed to leave the Mughal camp.

regard this step simply as a trick to provoke a civil war among the Marathas and thus safeguard the Deccan from being overrun by the Marathas in A'zam's absence¹ for A'zam's arrangements in the Deccan appear to have been adequate for its protection from the Marathas² during his absence.

As a matter of fact, Aurangzib himself had always favoured Shāhū's accession and regarded him as the rightful claimant to Shambhāji's throne.³ Dhulfiqār was of the same view, but unlike Aurangzib, he considered it unnecessary to ask for any prior guarantees of support from the Maratha sardars before releasing Shāhū. Such a demand was galling to Maratha pride, and showed Shāhū in the light of a Mughal puppet. By thus releasing Shāhū or conniving at his escape, Dhulfiqār removed a major obstacle to settlement with the Marathas. At the same time, Dhulfiqār could hope that if Shāhū succeeded in establishing himself on his father's throne, an agreement with him would be easier to reach than with any other person, on account of Shāhū's personal intimacy with him, and his long acquaintance with Mughal ideas, policies, culture, etc. There is no evidence to support the view put forward by some recent writers that A'zam concluded a pact granting chauth and sardeshmukhi to Shāhū before releasing him.⁴ However the possibility of some kind of a secret understanding between Dhulfiqār and Shāhū cannot be ruled out, specially in the light of Dhulfiqār's subsequent advocacy of the grant of chauth to Shāhū.

The next step taken by A'zam at Dhulfiqār's instance was the grant of the ranks of 7000 dhāt, 7000 sawārs, and the titles of Mirzā Rājah and Maharajah to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh. Negotiations were opened for the restoration of their homelands (watan jagirs) to the two Rājahs. They were also promised "other favours undreamt of by their forefathers."⁵ In other words, Dhulfiqār clearly embarked on a policy of far-reaching concessions to the Rajputs designed to bridge the gulf that had opened between them and the empire during the reign of Aurangzib.

Dhulfiqār's policy of conciliation may have yielded rich dividends if it had been boldly and steadfastly pursued. But Bahādur Shāh, who ascended the throne after A'zam's defeat at Jājau, preferred a halting

1-2 Ghazi-ud-din Firūz Jang was appointed Viceroy for the Deccan and asked to safeguard it, along with his son Chin Qulich Khān (later Nizam-ul-Mulk). (*Akhbārāt* 7, April, 1707, K.K. ii-566).

Cf. Sinha (*Rise of the Peshwas*, p. XII) who actually thinks that there was a danger of the Marathas stamping out imperial sway in the Deccan in A'zam's absence.

3. Shāhū was granted the manṣab of 7000 dhāt, 7000 sawārs, and the title of Rājah, and lodged inside the gulābār near the royal tents. Aurangzib was always very lenient to him, in sharp contrast to his attitude towards the deposed kings of Bijapur and Golconda. (*M.A.*, 332, 433).

4. Thus, K. & P. ii-121-3 mention a treaty in which A'zam agreed to chauth and sardeshmukhi over the six subas of the Deccan, and also made Shāhū governor of Gondwana, Gujrat and Tanjore "during good behaviour."

Dr. Dighe, loc. cit. p. 86, says that A'zam promised the grant of sardeshmukhi to Shāhū. The learned author quotes K.K. (Elliot vii, 396) in support, but K.K. makes no mention of any such grant.

5. *Akhbārāt*, 20 May, 1707, Wakil's report d. 30, April and 24 May (Sitamau—Misc. Papers, vol. i, pp. 97-101, 109-114, "Sarkar's collection," vol. XI, pp. 117-23—)

رعایت نمایان که درمغبله زرگان خاندان عمده را جهان گذشته باشد بمهده را جمان خواهم فرم. ده.

and cautious policy, under the inspiration, no doubt, of his vizier Mun'im Khān, a newly risen and comparatively inexperienced noble.¹ Bahādur Shāh attempted to restore the position obtaining in Marwar under Aurangzib by re-ejecting Ajit Singh from Jodhpur which he had occupied during the imperial civil war. Moreover, he attempted to extend the Mughal control over Rajputana by doing in Amber what Aurangzib had done in Marwar a generation ago, i.e., replacing one branch of the ruling family by another which he considered more loyal, and occupying the state capital for an indefinite period. Thus, Jai Singh was replaced by his younger brother Bijai Singh, and a Mughal faujdar appointed for Amber which was "annexed."² The result was another uprising of the Rajputs in which Amber, Jodhpur and Udaipur joined hands with the professed object of making Rajputana completely independent of the Mughals.³ Negotiations were soon opened with the Rajputs, and at Asad Khān's instance, their territories were restored to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh.⁴ But the two Rājahs did not receive any high ranks or appointments such as they had expected, and remained dissatisfied. They were called upon to serve during the Sikh campaign, and after much delay, complied, but were rewarded only with the faujdaris of Chitrkut and Sorath (in Gujerat).⁵ The Rājahs, who had been asking for the governorships of Malwa and Gujerat⁶ were disappointed and asked for leave to return home.

Similarly in his treatment of the Marathas, Bahādur Shāh refused to accept Dhulfiqār's advice, and followed a halting and unimaginative policy. After Bahādur's victory over Kām Bakhsh, Shāhū's wakil made an application through Dhulfiqār Khān asking for the grant of chauth and sardeshkmukhi over the six subas of the Deccan. At about the same time, Mun'im Khān presented the 'wakil' of Tārā Bāi offering to make her submission in return for the recognition of her son Shambhāji as the rightful king of the Marathas, and the grant of sardeshmukhi only, without any reference to chauth. In consequence, a great contention arose between the two ministers. Bahādur Shāh, characteristically, refrained from

1. For career see M.U. iii-667-77, M.A. 338, 437, etc. He was Dewan of Kabul from 1703 and Deputy Governor of Punjab from 1704, holding only the rank of 1500 dhāt, 1000 sawārs at Aurangzib's death.

2. B.M. (Rampur MS.) pp. 398, 254-6, K.K. ii-606, M.U. ii-81, 500, Mirza Mohd. (Bankipur MS.) f. 56 a, Bahādur Shāh Nāmāh (Stewart's Cat. p. 317), Siyar i-13, *Akhbārāt*, 1 March, 1708, Vir Vinod ii p. 767-8.

Bahādur Shāh's action raises many important points which, however, cannot be discussed in the scope of this paper. They have been dealt with at length by the writer in his thesis, "Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court in the First Four Decades of the 18th century" which he is submitting to the Allahabad University.

3. V.V. ii-767. According to the author, at a conference of the Rājahs near Lake Sambhar, it was proposed that Rana Amar Singh should be made Emperor of Hindustan after turning out the Mughals from India, but that Ajit claimed the throne for himself and so the matter was dropped.

4. *Akhbārāt* (Sitamau-Hindi letters) 28 and 30 June, 1709 and July 12, 1709 (old style), M.M. 58 b, K.K. 661. Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān also interceded on behalf of the Rajputs.

5. *Akhbārāt*, 27 November, 1711. There is extant a copy of the parwana of appointment with Asad Khān's seal, addressed to Jai Singh (Sitamau-Misc. Papers, vol. i, pp. 234-5) and a farman to Ajit Singh regarding the faujdari of Sorath (quoted by M.M. Reu in History of Jodhpur, p. 303).

6. *Akhbārāt* (Hindi letters) 28 and 30 June, 12 July, 1709 (O.S.).

taking a decision, and ordered that "sardeshmukhi farman..... be given in compliance with the requests of both Mun'im Khān and Dhulfiqār Khān."¹ In other words, he refused to recognise Shāhū as the rightful Maratha king, as had been done all along by Aurangzib, and rejected the claim for chauth. Only sardeshmukhi was granted and the rival claimants were left to fight it out. This was a negation of the policy of restoring peace and order in the Deccan, for both sides could plunder the imperial territories while fighting each other.²

From this it is clear that Dhulfiqār Khān had moved far from Aurangzib's unrelenting opposition to the grant of chauth and sardeshmukhi over imperial territories, and from the Emperor's view of these claims as inadmissible and inconsistent with the paramountcy of the Delhi Government. In urging support of Shāhū, and acceptance of the claim of chauth and sardeshmukhi, Dhulfiqār adopted a more realistic view of the situation as it actually was. He perceived that the Marathas had, in practice, established their claim to the chauth and sardeshmukhi over the Deccan. Hence, he deemed it wiser to grant formal recognition to the claim, and thus give the Maratha king a stake in the Deccan so that he could be drawn into the task of suppressing the roving Maratha bands and restoring peace in the country. It was probably with some such ideas in his mind that shortly after Bahadur Shāh's departure from the Deccan, Dhulfiqār Khān permitted his deputy in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, Dā'ūd Khān Panni, to come to a secret understanding with Shāhū. In return for a promise to refrain from plundering the Deccan, Dā'ūd promised Shāhū the chauth and sardeshmukhi of the Deccan. But these taxes were to be collected and paid by Dā'ūd Khān's own men.³ No formal deeds were executed and, in effect, the Marathas were given a huge bribe in return for a promise not to plunder.

It is difficult to say whether even with these concessions it would have been possible to satisfy the Marathas and gradually make them an integral part of the empire as had been done earlier in the case of the Rajputs by Akbar. The only alternative to such an attempt, however, was the continuation of a policy of force which Aurangzib's experience over a period of three score and more years had shown to be futile. Dhulfiqār realised this, and had the imagination to make a bold and far-reaching

1. K.K. 626, 782, M.U. vol. ii-351, *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, Elliot viii p. 259.

2. Thus, even before Bahadur Shāh had left the Deccan, Shāhū ordered his sardars to loot the royal domains and levy chauth which had been denied to him. (*Akhbārāt* 26, September, 1709).--

(شاهو) از چندرگده برآورده سرداران حکم نمود که ذل سیهانی (ذل سرجانی)؟ مارا دیشکهای این جامرحت کرده خود بدولت متوجه هندوستان شوند. تا حال چوتنه بدست نرسیده باید که در مالک محروسه رفته دست اندازی می کرده باشد.

3. K.K. vol. ii-783, *Siyar*, p. 111, *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* (Elliot viii 260,) *Khazānah*, p. 72.

change of policy once it had become clear that the old policy was no longer feasible.¹

In 1712, when Jahāndār Shāh came to the throne with his support, Dhulfiqār Khān got an opportunity to develop his policies further. Within six days of Jahāndār's accession, the Jizyah was decreed to be abolished.² The removal of this hateful tax which had become for the Hindus a symbol of intolerance and oppression removed a big obstacle to the restoration of amicable relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities, or rather, between the upper sections of these two communities.³

Next, Dhulfiqār granted the manṣabs of 7000 dhāt, 7000 sawārs, and the titles of Mirzā Rājah and Maharajah to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh. They were also nominated to the governorships of Malwa and Gujerat. Jai Singh was also given Mandsaur, and Ajit Singh, Sorath, Pattan and Idar, but was compelled to restore Nagore to Indra Singh, and Kishangarh and Rupnagar to Raj Singh. As the Rajput Wakil put it, the Emperor "accepted all our demands (maṭālib)."⁴

The Maratha policy was persevered in a new development being the grant of an imperial manṣab of 3000 dhāt, 2000 sawārs, and the title of Anup Singh to Shivaji II, son of Rāja Rām (i.e., the Kolhapur branch). A khil'at, and a royal farman granting the desh mukhi of Hyderabad was also sent to him.⁵ This was, in effect, tantamount to the recognition of the Kolhapur branch as an imperial feudatory inferior in status to the Satara branch, as evidenced by the lower manṣab of its ruler, but in no way subordinate to the latter. Dhulfiqār thus moved towards a solution which at that moment seemed to find wide favour among Maratha circles, and was, at the same time, most in keeping with imperial interests. An internal check would then be imposed on the ambitions of the Satara branch. Nor could Shāhū complain, for he had failed to crush Shambhaji, and was, at the moment, actually hard pressed by him. A division of chauth and sardesh mukhi of the Deccan between the two branches of the house would seem to be a logical corollary. The grant of desh mukhi of Hyderabad may have been a step in this direction. In this regard, the

1. Actually, Dhulfiqār's agreement did succeed in restoring peace in the Deccan to a great extent. (K.K. vol. ii-783, Duff i-341). The *Akhbārāt* reports numerous raids by Maratha bands and levying of chauth, in the subas of Berar, Bijapur, Aurangabad and Hyderabad between 1709-11. It is certain that a fair proportion of these may be ascribed to freebooters and the sardars of the Raja of Kolhapur (*vide* Shāhū's application dated 1721 cited by Dr R. G. Pawar in the I.H.R.C. Proceedings, vol. xvii pp. 210-11).

2. *Akhbārāt*, 7 April, 1712. For details of the position regarding Jizyah in the reign of Bahadur Shāh, see the present writer's paper entitled "Jizyah in the Post-Aurangzib Period" read before the Indian History Congress in 1946.

3. Jizyah which exempted the poor and fell on the upper middle class antagonised precisely that section of the Hindus who were the natural allies of the Muslim ruling class. This is clearly shown by the resentment aroused at Aurangzib's refusal to exempt the Brahmins from Jizyah. Rajput and Maratha Rājahs always made it a point to demand exemption from Jizyah.

4. Jaipur Records—Farman dated 10 April, 1712, and Wakil's letter dated 10 April, 1712; *Akhbārāt*, 25 November, and Wakil's report dated 30 November, 1712 (Miscellaneous Papers, vol. I).

5. *Akhbārāt*, 4 September, 1712.

action of Dhulfiqār Khān foreshadowed that of another extremely shrewd politician of the time, Nizām-ul-Mulk, who later tried to check the Satara branch by setting the Kolhapur branch as a counter to it.

There is no indication of the Sikh policy which Dhulfiqār Khān intended to follow. Mohd. Amin Khān was appointed to continue the campaign against Banda. Perhaps, it was considered necessary to crush the rising of the "false Guru" before conciliatory steps were taken towards Anup Singh, son of Guru Govind, who was present at the Mughal Court (*Akḥbārāt*).

With regard to the Jats and Bundelās, no change was made in the position obtaining under Bahadur Shāh and Aurangzib. Chhatrasal Bundelā remained a loyal feudatory, and Churāman Jāt, though he had opposed Dhulfiqār Khān in civil war following Bahadur Shāh's death, was pardoned and granted an imperial audience (*Akḥbārāt*).

Dhulfiqār's policy of conciliating the Rajputs, Marathas and Hindus in general was paralleled by a scheme for the internal reorganisation of the empire. Some time before Bahādur Shāh's death, he put forward the idea that the empire should be divided into four regions, each under a Prince of the Blood. Later, it seems that 'Azīm-ush-Shāh dropped out,¹ and the division was proposed to be made between the remaining three brothers as follows: Jahān Shāh,---the entire Deccan from the Narmada to Ceylon; Rafi-ush-Shāh,---Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Thatta and Bakkhar, the rest was to go to the eldest brother Jahāndār Shāh.²

The scheme appears to have been more than a mere repetition of the ancient idea of division of empire to solve the problem of succession. There was to be no complete division. The basic unity of the empire was sought to be preserved by providing that 'khuṭba' and 'sikka' throughout the country would continue in the name of the eldest brother, and that there would be one central vizier who would appoint deputies to the courts of the other brothers.³

Clearly, under the scheme, the vizier was to be the most important personage: the Emperor was to be the symbol of unity and the vizier its hub, the Emperor was to reign and the vizier to rule. Dhulfiqār may, in this way, have hoped to solve the twin problems of succession and decentralisation. There was a distinct tendency towards a regional division of the empire by grouping a number of provinces under one viceroy, as in the case of the six subas of the Deccan, and of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Occasionally, even royal princes were appointed to these charges. Dhulfiqār's scheme only carried this aspect further, and contemplated that the princes who ruled over these units should owe allegiance to the Emperor-brother rather than the Emperor-father, and enjoy greater autonomy than the viceroy usually did. An obvious

1. Inghā-i-Madhu Ram, p. 73, and K.K. ii-685, But no mention in Qasim.

2. Qasim (Bankipur MS.) 42-3, M.U. ii-99.

3. Qasim 42-3, Warid 277, M.U. ii-99, Nūr-ud-din (Jāhandār Nāmāh, I.O.L. MS.) f. 14a, declares however. "علم حکومت جدا گانه در ممالك خود هابرا فرازند"

advantage of such a division would have greater administrative efficiency and a more vigorous tackling of the forces of disintegration, internal and external. It is notable that Aurangzib in his alleged scheme of division, had also contemplated the creation of a separate state in the Deccan under a scion of the house of Taimur, with the obvious intention of providing an effective check to the growing power of the Marathas.

Unfortunately, as in such cases before, the scheme proved unacceptable to the princes concerned. Hence the idea of decentralisation combined with the existence of a single centre of rule for the entire country, was never given a trial. But the idea of the rule of the vizier persisted. Dhulfiqār lent it his support. He felt, it appears, that the monarchy had failed in the vital task of solving the political and military problems of the empire, and should make way for a person more suited to deal with these problems. This clearly, could only be the vizier. In seeking to realise this idea, however, Dhulfiqār encountered opposition both from the princes and the nobles.

Confusion grew on all sides, and on 10th January, 1713, barely ten months after his accession, Jahāndār Shāh was defeated by his nephew Farrukh Siyar at Agra. Shortly afterwards, on 11th February, Dhulfiqār was treacherously seized by Farrukh Siyar when he came to make his submission, and executed on the charge of disloyalty to the reigning family (the arresting of Kām Bakhsh in 1693, and the abandoning of A'zam at Jājau), conspiracy against Farrukh Siyar's father 'Azīm-ush-Shāh and execution of his brother Prince Mohd. Karīm (Ijad). Thus ended the career of Dhulfiqār Khān.

Dhulfiqār Khān's career shows that a powerful reaction against the policies of Aurangzib had started within his own life-time inside the Mughal court, and that this reaction gradually took the form of a move to reorganise the empire and reshape its policies under the ægis of the vizier. Dhulfiqār himself was the first among his contemporaries to realise that the policy of Aurangzib had failed, to press for its revision, and finally, after the Emperor's death, to initiate a breakaway from it. The measures advocated by him appear to be statesmanly, and if he had been allowed to live, or his policies persevered in they may have succeeded in bridging the gulf between the various contending sections inside the Mughal empires, and thus giving a new lease of life to the empire and keeping the disintegrative forces in check. The Sayyid brothers attempted to follow in his footsteps, but for various reasons, could not succeed. At any rate, Dhulfiqār's claim to be regarded as one of the oldest and most original politicians of his time can hardly be disputed.

EARLY INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE

(Continued from p. 21, Jan. & April 1949 issue of 'Islamic Culture')

(VII) MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD AND CHOICE OF PROFESSION

AFTER rejecting state-service, what was the mystic to do to earn his livelihood? How was he to earn his subsistence? Now, these mystics believed in two means of livelihood:---*Zamīn-i-Aḥya*,¹ the produce of waste land which the mystic and his family cultivated, and *Futūḥ*,² gifts and presents which people brought to his house unasked. But here again *futūḥ* was preferred to *Zamīn-i-Aḥya*, as the latter made the mystic dependent upon the tax-collector.³

As a matter of fact the mystic did not care for his subsistence.⁴ His love-ridden heart would only say:--

و کلت الی المحبوب امری کله

فان شاء احيانی وان شاء اتلفا

(I have surrendered myself to the beloved. He may sustain me or kill me.)⁵

His firm conviction was:--

بشغل جهان رنج بردن چه سود که روزی بکوشش نیاید فزود

بدنبال روزی نباید دويد تو بنشین که روزی خود آید پدید

1. According to Muslim jurists waste land if developed by a person became his property. Māwardi quotes the following Hadith: "The lands which come from 'Ad (adi al-ard) belong to God and His Prophet, then they are given to you (i.e., the Muslims) from me."

2. There is one full chapter (Chapter XX) on 'Futūḥ' in the famous 'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-din Suhrawardī. Vide also *Faḥrī'id-ul-Fawā'id*, pp. 124-125.

3. *Islamic Culture*, Professor Mohammad Habib's article: Shaikh Naṣir-ud-din Chirāgh-i-Delhi, vol. XX, No. 2, p. 130. Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute, vol. 1, 1941, pp. 75-76. Professor Mohd. Habib's article: "Indian Culture and Civilization at the Time of Turkish Invasions."

"اے درویش متوکلان این راه هرگز غم و اندوه رزق وغیرا ندارد

سبب آنکه در روز ازل مقسوم شده است خواهد رسید"

4. *Asrār-ul-'Auliya* (MS.) p. 28 (b).

5. Cited in Dr. Mir Vali-ud-din's excellent treatise on تصوف اور قرآن (Mysticism and Qur'ān) p. 36.

The Quranic verse is :—

” وفي السماء رزقكم وماتو عدون، فو رب السماء والارض

انه لحق مثل ما انكم تنطقون،، (٢٦ : ١٤)

It will be interesting to give here the mystic views about رزق (subsistence). They classified *rizq* as follows :—¹

(1) *Rizq-i-Maḍmūn*.—It includes basic necessities of life which are required for bare subsistence, like food and water. God is responsible for supplying them to every living man and animal, as the Quranic verse says :—

” و ما من دابة في الارض الا على الله رزقها،،

(2) *Rizq-i-Maqsūm*.—It includes the subsistence which has already been allotted to human beings at the time of creation and is recorded on *Lauh-i-Mahfūz*.

(3) *Rizq-i-Mamlūk*—is private property, e.g., money, clothes.

(4) *Rizq-i-Maʿūd*—is that which God has promised to the pious people :—

” ومن يتق الله يجعل له مخرجا ويرزقه من حيث لا يحتسب،،

Resignation to the will of God (توكل) is permitted only for *rizq-i-maḍmūn*. A mystic wants nothing more than bare subsistence. This is ensured by God to all his creatures. Hence it is futile to hanker after it.

The question arises—Was this the advice which the spiritual mentor gave to every one? No, the teaching of resignation (توكل) in '*rizq-i-maḍmūn*' and '*futūḥ*' was confined only to those disciples who were determined to dedicate their whole being to the service of Allah and His worship. To others, the advice of the Shaikh was always for كسب (some means of earning a livelihood). In *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Shaikh Nāṣir-ud-din Chirāgh-i-Dehli has very clearly pointed out :—“There are two disciplines—one prescribed for the initiated and the other for the novices (خواص و عوام). For the select few the injunction was to shut their doors and pray to God; for the general run of men the instruction was to go out and earn a livelihood by dint of labour.”²

1. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 511 (Delhi).

Fawā'id-ul-Fawād, p. 102.

Kashf-ul-Mahjūb, p. 38.

2. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Conversation 23. This distinction of خواص and عوام was almost persistent in medieval mystic thought. In *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya quotes Shaikh Bahā-ud-din Zakariyya's words in another context: (p. 136)

”خلق بر دو نوع اند، عوام اند و خواص اند“

In *Anīs-ul-Arwāḥ*, one full dialogue is exclusively devoted to a discussion on *kash*.¹ Persistently and repeatedly it is emphasised upon the mystics :--

الكاسب حبيب الله -

(One who earns his livelihood is the beloved of God).

الكاسب صديق الله -

(One who earns his livelihood is the trusted of God).

طلب الحلال فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة -

(Earning the permitted (food) is incumbent upon every Muslim, man and woman).

and such vocations as those of a tailor, a cultivator² or a teacher or trade and commerce are encouraged. In *Dalil-ul-Ārifin* also much emphasis is laid on *kash*.³ “*Kash*” or earning one’s livelihood is encouraged and enjoined but at the same time stress is laid upon the performance of religious duties, such as ‘namaz’ or ‘fasts!’ Worldly pursuits must not stand in the way of prayers and fasts. The earning of one’s livelihood is not to be an end, but a means to a nobler and a higher end.⁴

Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-din Chirāgh-i-Delhi also persistently emphasized the importance of *kash* upon his disciples. On several occasions in his table-talks he has quoted the sayings of the holy Prophet and has stressed on the need of earning one’s livelihood and has ordained not “to eat their religion;” in other words piety is not to be exploited for worldly ends or to avoid labour.⁵ As was his habit, he narrates numerous stories to bring home to his audience the value of *kash*. In some of these stories he has illustrated his point that *kash* (some trade or profession) and *derveshi* (در ویشی) are not incompatibles. They go hand in hand, provided a man takes care of his soul and does not lose himself in the pursuit and enjoyment of wealth. He desires his disciples to be like Junaid and Shibli.⁶ He tells the story

1. Conversation, No. IX.

2. Cultivation, as pointed out before, was encouraged and preferred by Muslim mystics to other professions. Dr. A. B. M. Habib-ul-lah says: “we find very few recorded instances of Muslim cultivators.” (*Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 293). Throughout the early period of Indo-Muslim history he was able to find only two instances of Muslim cultivators: one, of a disciple of Shaikh Bahā-ud-din Zakariyya Multānī, and the other during the reign of Balban. ‘*Malfūzāt*’ disclosed the names of many mystics who carried on cultivation in India during the early period of Indo-Muslim history. Shaikh Ḥamid-ud-din Sawālī carried on cultivation at Nagpur. (*Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 139-140., Lahore). Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar’s eldest son Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-din cultivated land and thereby earned his livelihood. (*Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 166, Lahore). Khwāja Mu’in-ud-din Chishtī’s son Khwāja Fakhr-ud-din carried on cultivation in Mandal. (*Khazinat-ul-Aṣṣafia*, vol. I, p. 284). For further instances, vide *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, p. 136.

3. Conversation, No. I.

4. *Malfūzāt-i-Khwājagan-i-Chisht*, (G. A. Biryani), p. 28.

5. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Conversation, XXI.

6. *Ibid.* XXV.

of a great saint who earned his bread by selling grass.¹ At several places in his *Malfūzāt* he praises the teaching profession and commends to his disciples the vocation of trade.²

The impression has grown that these mystics created a class of social parasites and discouraged the active pursuit of any vocation. This is a misunderstanding of actual facts. The *Malfūzāt* reveal that with the exception of those who were entrusted with higher works, other disciples were to earn their 'bread' with the sweat of their brow. What the mystics feared was that a man might think that subsistence was received from the man under whom he worked. This, they believed, led to the weakening of faith in the omnipotence of God. One must work for a living but must believe in God as the ultimate source of his livelihood and man as a mere agent of God. Such an attitude leads to independence of mind and fosters self-respect. *Shaikh* Al-Hujwiri thus explains the idea in his *Kashf-ul-Mahjūb*.³

"If He makes a creature the means of giving you daily bread, do not regard that creature, but consider that the daily bread which God has caused to come to you does not belong to him but to God. If he thinks that it is his, and that he is thereby conferring a favour upon you, do not accept it. In the matter of daily bread one person does not confer upon another any favour at all, because, according to the opinion of the orthodox, daily bread is food (*ghidha*), although the Mu'tazilites hold it to be property (*milk*) of God, (nourishes mankind with food) and not of any created being....."

(VIII) THE SULTĀNS AND THE SAINTS

"Devotion to the *Ṣūfī* and his mystic cult," says Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, "formed an important feature of Muslim religious life under the Memlukes."⁴ They were revered and loved by all classes of people, though there was an undercurrent of hostility to them amongst the ranks of the orthodox theologians.

Throughout the medieval period, the Sultāns showed great respect and reverence to the *Shaikhs*, divines and dervishes. They respected them for their piety and never interfered in their affairs. The saints in their turn never meddled in political matters. When any party interfered in the others' affairs, a conflict generally followed because both the kings and the saints jealously guarded their prestige and prerogatives.

This reverence shown by the ruling classes was due to political and religious reasons. These saints led a pious and pure life and this elicited universal respect. It was believed that becoming the 'murid'

1. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Conversation, 99.

2. *Ibid.*, 85.

3. *Kashf-ul-Mahjūb*, p. 106. (Translated by Nicholson).

4. *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 282.

of some saint had the effect of changing one's outlook on life. Bughra Khān advised his voluptuous son Kaiqutād to "become the disciple of some holy person"¹ so that all evil desires be wiped out from him. Besides, there were political reasons also. These mystics wielded immense influence² over the people and no ruler could take the risk of antagonizing them. Punishing them or killing them was considered inauspicious. It was popularly believed in medieval India that the killing of saints is followed by incalculable and unforeseen calamities. Barani says :—

”بزرگان گفته اند درویش کشتن شوم باشد و هیچ بادشاه را نیکو نیامده است“³

(Elders have said that the killing of saints is inauspicious and has not augured well for any king).

When Saiyyidi Maula was murdered with the active connivance of Sultān Jalāl-ud-din Khiljī, a dark thunder-storm, says the historian, followed and famine stalked the land. The Sultān's son became mad and great misfortunes befell him. People looked upon these calamities as inevitable nemesis for the killing of the pious man.⁴ This belief became so deeply ingrained in the medieval mind that if any calamity befell a person who had no faith in saints, his misfortune was ascribed to divine wrath. In several malfūzāt, it is mentioned that Sher Khān's

1. Barani, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*.

2. Only two early drawings— one from the capital and the other from a far-off town in the Punjab— will suffice to illustrate the respect and devotion which these mystics commanded.

(a) Khwāja Mu'in-ud-din Chishtī comes to Delhi and asks his disciple, Khwāja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyār Kāki, to quit Delhi and accompany him to Ajmer. The people of Delhi and the Sultān Iltutmish follow them for miles crying and weeping. Wherever the saints place their feet the earth is at once reverentially dug out and kept as keepsake. The Khwāja revises his decision and allows Qutb Shāhib to remain at Delhi.

—*Siyar-ul-'Auliya*.

(b) Sultān Nāṣir-ud-din Maḥmūd is moving with his army to Uchah and Multan. The army stays at Pak Pattan to pay respects to the famous saint Bāba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar. So many military men flock to the city that all streets and bazars are blocked. How to meet and see the Shaikh? A sleeve of Baba's shirt is hung on a thoroughfare. An ocean of men is surging. The sleeve is torn to pieces due to overcrowding. The Shaikh himself is so hemmed in that he requests his murids to encircle in order to save his person from the eager public trying to elbow its way to the shaikh.

—*Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, p. 145.

Siyar-ul-'Auliya, p. 80.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 212.

4. 'Isami says :

یکے سیل زد خون آن یگناه	هم آخر شنیدم پس از چنگاه
در و غرق شد ملک هندوستان	و زان سیل طوفان خیز شده بان
بناحق بریزند خونے چنین	بلے شک باشد کہ در هر زمین
نروید درو هیچ برگ گما	درو فطره آئے نرزد هوا

Futūḥ-us-Salāṭin, p. 210.

And these calamities were averted only when :

گروه فقیران گرشه نشین	گروه فقیهان احکام دین
زاری می کرد هر يك دعا	بزاورده دستے به سوئے هوا

premature death was due to the curse of a saint whom he had annoyed.¹ When the saint Ahmad Binārī was executed by Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq for his unorthodox utterances, Shāikh Sharf-ud-din Yahyā Mānerī said : " It would be really surprising if a town where the blood of such persons was shed continued to enjoy prosperity for long."²

Many instances may be cited from medieval history where calamities have very often been ascribed by the credulous piety of the age to the curse of some saint. When Mubārak Khilji was murdered by the Parwaris, his death was considered the result of a curse of the Great Shāikh, Ḥadrat Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya whom he had treated with criminal disrespect.³ Some decades later, when Sultān Moḥammad bin Tughlaq died at Thatta, people said that his death was due to the curse of eminent saints, including Shāikh Nāṣir-ud-din whom he had treated with great disrespect.⁴ How far the prayers of a Shāikh could bring death or distress to a man, is not for us to decide. These episodes simply reflect the workings of the medieval mind.

Very frequently in medieval literature, we find the rulers soliciting the spiritual succour of the saints. In times of crisis, both personal and national, the Sultāns sought the spiritual help of these saints with the same zeal and humility with which the common folk ran to their khānqāhs in search of blessings and benedictions. It is said that when Moḥammad Ghōri invaded Lahore, Khusrāu Malik, the Ghaznavide Governor, requested Shāikh 'Izz-ud-din Mecci to pray for the safety of his throne.⁵ During the Sultanate period we find that whenever the Mongol Khaqān knocked at the gates of India, the Sultān's couriers rushed to the khānqāhs.⁶ One may doubt the efficacy of prayers in averting national calamities, but one thing is indisputable. Predictions of success made at moments of great peril and danger to the State created confidence in the masses and maintained the morale of the army. We know that every Mongol inundation disturbed the life of the country. People ran helter-skelter—leaving their hearths and homes—whenever they heard the name of these Mongol raiders.

1. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, pp. 220-221.

Sher Khān of Multan, whom Lane-Poole calls the Lawrence of medieval India, was an exceptionally brilliant administrator and a valiant soldier. He fought against heavy odds and protected the North-West Frontier at a very critical moment of Indian history. It is said that Balban poisoned him out of jealousy.

2. *Maktūbāt-i-Shāikh Sharf-ud-din Yahyā Mānerī*, cited by Mr. Shāikh 'Abdur Rashīd in his Introduction to *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 11.

3. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Chashma-i-Kauthar*—Shāikh Mohammad Ikram, p. 84.

6. Qubacha seeks spiritual help of Shāikh Quṭb-ud-din Bakhtiyār Kāki, *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 57.

Sultān 'Alā-ud-din Khilji sends his messengers to Shāikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya ; Barani, *Firishṭa*. In Central Asia also rulers sent their messengers to saints in times of Mongol invasions. The ruler of Nishapur sends his men to Shāikh Farid-ud-din 'Attār.

These prophesies of success infused new life and vigour into the disheartened forces and the panicky masses.

Whether faced with an invading army or with a famine, the rulers turned to these saints for their spiritual assistance. Once a severe famine broke out in Delhi. Iltutmish called a courtier and said: "Go to all those dervishes and saints who live in this city. Convey compliments on our behalf and humbly submit: It is the duty of kings to deal sternly with tyrants and infidels, and to avert troubles. But your duty is to pray to the Almighty for the safety of the people. Kindly turn to Him and supplicate for rains, so that through the blessings of your sincere prayers it may rain."¹

It is related by Mir Khurd that Balban nursed the ambition of occupying the throne during the vizierate. Once he went to Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar and while he was offering a dish of *tankas* to the Shaikh, in his heart was the earnest desire to become the Sultān. The Shaikh, whose intuitive intelligence had revealed to him the inner working of Ulugh Khān's mind at once recited the quatrain:

فریدون فرخ فرشته نبود زعود و زعنبر سرشته نبود
زداد و دهش یافت آن خسروی توداد و دهش کن فریدون تونی

(Faridun, the blessed, was not an angel; he was not made of agallochum or ambergris. He attained that position of kingship through his bounty and liberality. Thou shouldest bestow liberally and thyself will be Faridūn).²

It is said about 'Alā-ud-din Khiljī that while he was coming to Kara to meet his uncle, Sultān Jalāl-ud-din Khiljī, he went to a saint, Karaq by name, in quest of his benedictions. The saint prophesied:

هر کس که کند باتوجنگ
سر در کشتی تن در گنگ

(Anyone who engages in conflict with thee, may his head be in the boat and his body in the Ganges).³

Thus political and religious considerations led the rulers and officers to show respect to the saints and sages. Iltutmish's respect for Khawāja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kāki, Shaikh Jalāl-ud-din Tabrizi, Shaikh Badr-ud-din Ghaznavī, Khawāja Imād-ud-din Bilgrāmī and others is too well known to be recapitulated here.⁴ When eminent saints from Baghdad and Bokhāra came to Delhi, he went out for miles to welcome them. Balban, though a stickler at etiquette, took pride in visiting the houses of great saints, like Maulānā Burhān-ud-din

1. *Siyar-ul-'Arifin*, by Dervesh Jamali, (MS.).

2. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*.

3. *Firishṭa*.

4. Vide *Islamic Culture*, April, 1946.

Balkhī, Maulānā Sirāj-ud-din Sanjarī, Maulānā Najm-ud-din Damishqi and others.¹ Barani says :—

”علمائے آخرت و مشائخ ہر جادہ را بغایت حرمت داشتے و بدیدن بزرگان دین

در خانہائے ایشان برقتے ..

(He revered very highly the saints and *mashā'ikh* of every order and used to visit the houses of religious men).²

His devotion to *Ḥadrat Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* was immense.³ He humbly requested *Shaykh 'Alī Chishtī* to remain in Delhi, holding the reins of his horse.⁴ *Sultān 'Alā-ud-din Khiljī*, whose aversion towards the religious classes has been unduly exaggerated, had, as Professor Mohammad Habib has very rightly remarked, “a deep religious strain”⁵ in him. He showed great respect for the saints and divines of the age. He had great faith in *Shaykh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya* and *Ḥadrat Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar*. How deeply he was touched by a quatrain of *Sanā'ī*, recited by *Shaykh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya* and conveyed to him by *Malik Qara Beg*, can be read in *Firishṭa*. His faith in *Shaykh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya* was so great that some writers have been misled to think that he had become a *murīd* of the great *Shaykh*.⁶ Even *Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq*, who in the later years of his reign became notorious for humiliating the saints showed great respect for eminent saints during his earlier years. He used to visit the *khinqāh* of *Shaykh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya*, and was much influenced by the great *Shaykh* and *Shaykh Rukn-ud-din Multānī*.⁷ After crushing the revolt of *Bahrān Aiba Khān*, he wanted to put to sword those inhabitants of Multan who had sided the rebel, but when *Shaykh Rukn-ud-din Multānī* requested him to forgive, he was prompt to listen to the *Shaykh's* advice and act upon it.⁸

The saints never interfered in political matters but at the same time they did not permit the rulers to interfere with the rules of their organization or the sanctity of the *khinqāh*. Indifferent to political upheavals or changes of dynasties in the country, they coolly pursued their quest after God. Palace intrigues, baronial conspiracies, the petty squabbles of the men of the world had no interest for them nor did the Mongol invaders strike terror into these men. Seldom do

1. Barani, p. 36. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 39-40.

2. Barani, p. 46.

3. *Maṭlub-ut-Talibin*, (M.) by Muhammed Bulaq.

4. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 212, (Persian).

5. *Islamic Culture*, April, 1946, p. 137.

6. cf. Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, In *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, Muhammad Qabauthi states on the authority of Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar that Sultān Jalāl-ud-din and Sultān 'Alā-ud-din were his *murids*.

7. Vide my article on the religious leanings of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq in 'Burhan' of Delhi, March, 1946.

8. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 479. (Barani).

we find reference to the reigning monarchs amongst the *mal'fūzāt*. This attitude is well summed up in the famous couplet of Ḥāfiẓ :—

رموز مصلحت ملک خسروان داند
گدائے گوشه نشینی تو حافظا مغروش

There are very few instances of social contacts between the saints and the Sultāns. Ittutmish had the unique privilege of being addressed as "Friend" by *Shūikh* Qaṭb-ud-din Bakhtiyār Kāki.¹ Balban whose religious inclinations have been praised by no less a person than *Shūikh* Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya,² had the honour of receiving a letter from Bābā Farid Ganj-i-Shakar. The letter was one of recommendation but was written with great self-restraint. It was brief and dignified :—

رفعت قصته الى الله ثم اليك فان اعطيته شيئا فالمعطي هو الله وانت المشكور
وان لم تعطه شيئا فالمانع هو الله وانت المعذور -

(I referred his matter first to God and then to you. If you will grant anything to him, the real Giver is God but you will get the credit for it. If you do not give him anything, the real preventer is God ; you are helpless in the matter).³

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI.

(To be continued)

1. *Asrār-ul-'Auliya*, (MS.)

2. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, pp. 231-232.

3. The oft-quoted story that one of Balban's daughters was married to Bābā Farid lacks contemporary confirmation. *Gulshan-i-Abrār* was perhaps the first book to mention this. Later writers like Jawaher-i-Faridi and others have uncritically copied it. Amir Khurd, Barani, and other early writers do not mention this. The above-quoted letter is in *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, (p. 72) (Persian Text).

KHĀN-I-JAHĀN LŌDI AND HIS ANCESTORS

THE descent of Pīr Khān, entitled Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi is traced from Ḍahak Maran, the nephew of 'Ād bin Aram bin Sām bin Ḥaḍrat Nūḥ. On his mother's side his lineage goes back to Sheikh Batanī, the second son of Qais 'Abd-al-Rashīd Pathān. As Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi belonged to the Mati clan on his mother's side, he was called Pathān.¹

The tribe of Lōdis, to which Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi belonged was a great and powerful one in Roh and more resourceful than any other tribe of the Afghāns. They served the great cause of the expansion of Islam during and after Prophet Muḥammad. In 391 A.H. (1000 A.D.) when Sultān Maḥmūd invaded India, he called to his help twelve chiefs of the Afghāns—Malik Sulaimān Lōdi, Malik Khālūn, Malik Ghāzī, Malik 'Amūn, Malik Kamāl, Malik Bahrām and Malik Sāhu.² The Afghāns, especially Malik Sulaimān, played an important role in the expeditions. They were handsomely rewarded for their services. During the time of Muḥammad Ghōri also the Afghāns played an active part in conquering Hindustan proper.

When Amir Timūr appointed Saiyyid Khidr Khān as the governor of his conquered territories of India (the Punjab) and went back to Samarqand in 1399 A.D., Sultān Shāh Lōdi, uncle of Sultān Bahlūl Lōdi, rose to a high position under Khidr Khān and got Sirhind as jagir. Sultān Bahlūl Lōdi, receiving the news at Dibalpur of the siege of Delhi by Sultān Maḥmūd of Jaunpur, summoned Afghāns from Roh and with their help defeated the Jaunpuri force under the leadership of Faṭḥ Khān Hirawī at Narila, a village about 24 miles from Delhi. They got good reward for their services. This attracted other Afghāns of Roh to come and settle in India.

Malik Aḥmad Lōdi Yūsuf Khail, the great-great-grandfather of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi was one of the greatest chiefs of Roh and was a brave

1. Cf. *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, Rampur MS. No. 381, p. 157.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, Gankipur MS. No. 529, fol. 266. The name of the 12th Chief is missing.

and generous man. He had four sons—Daulat Khān (later on known as Sher Khān) Nuṣrat Khān, Bahār Khān and Mūsa Khān. They were also brave men like their father.¹ Jahāngīr says that the ancestors and uncles of Ṣalābat Khān's (Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī's) grandfather had been great and honourable men among the tribe of Lōdī.²

When Sulṭān Lōdī died and his son Sulṭān Sikandar succeeded him in 1488 A.D., many Afghān chiefs migrated from Roh to India. Of the forefathers of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, Miān Nuṣrat Khān was the first to come to India from Roh. He proceeded to Hindustan with the permission of his father, Malik Aḥmad. He reached Lahore and settled there, and entered into the service of Daulat Khān Lōdī Bai Khail, the governor of Lahore. They not only belonged to the same clan but were also related.³ Daulat Khān treated Nuṣrat Khān well and gave him in marriage his own niece, Ibrahim Khān's daughter. After one and a half years Nuṣrat Khān wrote to his father to come with his sons. Aḥmad Khān due to old age was not in a position to undertake the difficult journey but he advised his other sons to proceed to India. Accordingly Miān Daulat Khān and Bahār (Pahar) Khān set out for India. They arrived at Lahore and were introduced by their brother to Daulat Khān, the then governor of the Punjab. They were received cordially by the governor and the three brothers were given in jagir two parganas Lali Khukher and Lakhi Jungal.⁴

In connection with the change of the name of Daulat Khān, Ni'matullah, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahāni*,⁵ relates an anecdote. One day the governor of the Punjab held a banquet. It so happened that while the banquet was going on some one stood and shouted out 'Daulat Khān.' Now, the governor of the Punjab, whose name was Daulat Khān, responded to the call, thinking that he was wanted. The man in question, however, wanted to speak to Miān Daulat Khān, brother of Nuṣrat Khān, who was also present there, and not to the governor Daulat Khān. The governor felt greatly embarrassed and expressed his desire that either he or Miān Daulat Khān should change his name, so that such confusion might not arise in future. Miān Daulat Khān suggested that the governor should continue to hold his own name, which befitted him and desired that his own name should be changed. Next day they went on a hunting expedition. They happened to see a lion and Miān Daulat Khān killed it. The governor was very much

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, MS., p. 143.

2. Cf. Rogers. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 87.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 87. Jahāngīr says that Daulat Khān was the uncle of Ṣalābat Khān's grandfather. But Jahāngīr confuses between Daulat Khān, the governor of the Punjab and Miān Daulat Khān, the uncle of 'Omar Khān, the grandfather of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī. They were quite different persons and this point has been made clear by Ni'matullah.

4. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, Bankipur MS. No. 529, fol. 270b.

5. See my article on the critical account of the book and its author, *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, April and July, 1948.

pleased with his bravery, rewarded him at once with Rs. 2000 and an 'Irāqī horse and called him Sher Khān. From that day onwards he was known by this title.¹

After a year, when Sultān Sikandar Lōdī got news of the arrival of Malik Aḥmad's sons in the Punjab, he wrote a letter to Daulat Khān, the governor of the Punjab, to send them to the court, and addressed another to them to visit him. Sher Khān, with his brothers, visited the court. They were given option to serve the king or Nawwāb Daulat Khān. They accepted the second alternative. They lived at Lahore with Daulat Khān for some years.

Daulat Khān rebelled against the reigning monarch Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī and sent his son Dilāwar Khān to Kabul to invite Bābur to India.² Bābur came, defeated Ibrāhīm Lōdī at the battle of Panipat on the 21st April, 1526 A.D. and laid the foundation of the Mughal empire by extirpating the Lōdis. Sher Khān with his brothers fled from the Punjab to Bengal. Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī, proclaimed himself king in Bihār. His state affairs were managed by Bain and Bāyazīd. The Afghāns rallied round him in large numbers. Sher Khān with his brothers also entered into the service of Sultān Maḥmūd and got some villages in jagir. Maḥmūd confirmed Farīd Khān's appointment but in order to provide his own nobles and soldiers, Farīd Khān was obliged to resume for the present the possession of Bihar, which was to be restored to him after the Afghāns' success over the Mughals. When Sultān Maḥmūd invaded Jaunpur, Sher Khān with his brothers was present in his retinue and fought bravely against Humāyūn Bādshāh at Daunrūa 15 miles east of Jaunpur. The Afghāns were defeated owing to the treachery of Sher Khān Sūr and Bain was killed. Bāyazīd fled receiving injuries. Daulat Khān (Sher Khān) was also seriously wounded but with the assistance of his brother Nuṣrat Khān, escaped death and reached Patna. As the Afghāns were totally dispersed after this defeat, Sher Khān and his brothers gave up the soldierly profession and took to trade. After the defeat of Humāyūn Bādshāh at Chausa, when Sher Khān Sūr declared himself king and the Afghāns began to flock round him, they entered his service.

After some time, when Sher Shāh proceeded towards Bengal to conquer it, the landlords of Andhiyar Khatula and Raja Silhadi requested Sher Shāh to send one of his sons to them with a large force so that they might conquer the lands of Humāyūn Bādshāh for him. Sher Shāh accordingly sent his younger son Quṭb Khān to them with a small force under the leadership of Miān Sher Khān. When Quṭb Khān reached their territory, the landlords went back on their promise, allied themselves

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, JNS, MS., p. 147.

2. By the time Bābur conquered India, Daulat Khān had died. His son Dilāwar Khān was held in great respect and was entitled *Khān-i-Khānān*. On the return of Humāyūn from Bengal, Dilāwar Khān fought bravely against Sher Khān Afghān and was made a prisoner. On his refusal to accept services under Sher Khān, he was buried alive in a wall. (Rogers—The *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 88).

with the Mughal chief, Mirza Ulugh Beg and gave battle to Qutb Khān. The latter was defeated and killed. Sher Khān, when he heard the news of his murder, ran to his dead body, and overcome by sudden emotion fell down dead, fighting bravely.¹

Sher Shāh in recognition of his services, summoned to the court his four sons—Maḥmūd Khān, Miān 'Omar Khān, Qāsim Khān, and Kamāl Khān and gave them as jagir the parganas of Kampila, Patiali, Sakita and Bhawngaon. 'Omar Khān was enrolled among the courtiers and his three brothers were sent to administer their jagirs.²

During this time Miān 'Ālam Khān Lōdi, one of the chiefs of Gujerat being displeased with his master, came to Sher Shāh, who had given the daughter of 'Ālam Khān named Bibi Laji³ in marriage to Miān 'Omar Khān. 'Omar Khān and his brothers had been treated with respect in the time of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh.⁴ After Sher Shāh's death Islām Shāh confirmed them in their jagirs. Maḥmūd and 'Omar Khān often stayed at Patiali. At the end of Islām Shāh's reign 'Omar Khān's wife (that is the daughter of 'Ālam Khān) gave birth to a child at Gwalior in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.). The child was named Daulat Khān.⁵ 'Omar Khān passed his days happily till the death of Islām Shāh.

After Islām Shāh's death Mubāriz Khān usurped the throne of Delhi and styled himself Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh. 'Omar Khān and his brothers did not pay homage to him and so they were deprived of their jagirs. When Sultān 'Ādil proceeded towards Chaparghatta to punish Shāh Muḥammad Khān Kuria, defeated him and marched towards Lakhnaw, 'Omar Khān's three brothers went there to submit to him. But they were imprisoned and kept in the fort of Chunar. Miān 'Omar Khān escaped to Arial, the land of the Raja of Patna. The Raja treated him well and gave him some villages in jagir for the maintenance of his horses and elephants.⁶

Sultān 'Ādil set Maḥmūd Khān, Qāsim Khān and Kamāl Khān free and sent them with Himūn Baqqāl to fight with the Mughals in the battlefield of Panipat. The battle was fought on the 5th November, 1556 A.D. The Afghāns were defeated. Maḥmūd Khān and Qāsim Khān fell with others and Kamāl Khān escaped unhurt. Miān 'Omar Khān being aware of the facts—the death of his brothers, the arrival of the Mughals and the dispersal of the Afghāns—did not think it safe to remain in the land of the enemies and started for Aḥmadabād (Gujerat) via Malwah in 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.). His son Daulat Khān was about six years old at

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, Rampur MS., No. 381, pp. 162.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, Bankipur MS., No. 529, p. 276.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, Royal Asiatic Society, MS., No. 101, fol. 133b.

4. Cf. Rogers *The Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 88.

5. Daulat Khān belonged to the Sāhu clan of the Afghāns. (Cf. the *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. II, p. 5.).

6. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, JNS., MS., p. 156.

that time.¹ At Sarangpur,² Shujā'at Khān (Sujawal Khān) father of Bazbahadur and governor of the place snatched the best horses and elephants from 'Omar Khān. The latter, however, reached Aḥmadabād, suffering great hardships. There he was introduced to Sher Khān Fawlādi, one of the greatest nobles of Gujerat, by his brother-in-law Miān Tatār Khān 'Ālam Khān II, son of 'Ālam Khān I.

After some time Daulat Khān's mother died. 'Ālam Khān II gave another sister, Bibi Raji 'Ālam,³ in marriage to Miān 'Omar Khān. Miān 'Omar Khān passed some years peacefully in the service of Sher Khān Fawlādi; but after some time, being displeased with his master, he left Patan for Aḥmadabād and entered the service of I'timād Khān, the chief of the town. He wrote a letter to his brother-in-law 'Ālam Khān II to look after his jagir and estate.

During this time Miān Daulat Khān entered the service of Hāji Khān an important chief of Gujerat. He gave him Itawah, a village near Aḥmadabād, in jagir. Miān 'Omar Khān got his son Daulat Khān married to Bibi Raji Jiun,⁴ the daughter of Miān Haibat Khān Bhilam, one of the chiefs of Gujerat. Miān 'Omar Khān returned to 'Ālam Khān II.

In 982 A.H. (1574 A.D.) disturbances broke out in Gujerat and I'timād Khān invited the Mughals. Khān-i-A'zam, on behalf of the Mughals, besieged the fort of Aḥmadabād, and Akbar within nine days reached Aḥmadabād and defeated the Gujeratis. Miān 'Omar Khān was killed with Muḥammad Khān, son of Sher Khān Fawlādi in the battle.⁵

Miān Daulat Khān left Gujerat for Surat, and the raja of that place received him well and asked him to reside there. But Daulat Khān, shortly after receiving a letter of invitation from Shāh Abu Turāb, the leader of the Gujeratis, left for Gujerat. He was introduced there to Khān-i-A'zam Muḥammad 'Azīz Koka, the Mughal governor of Gujerat in 984 A.H. (1576 A.D.). He was given half of the pargana of Chḥalawar in jagir. At the time of his return to Agra, Khān-i-A'zam took Daulat Khān with him. During the journey they were attacked by a group of Rajputs in the vicinity of Sirohi.⁶ Daulat Khān fought bravely and killed the Rajput chief along with some of his followers. Khān-i-A'zam received serious wounds. He honoured Daulat Khān by giving him a swift 'Irāqi horse and Rs. 2,000 as reward. One of the wine-sellers recorded this event in Hindi verse called 'Pur Sawiyah.' Akbar used to like this Pursawiyah⁷ very much. Khān-i-A'zam took Miān Daulat

1. Nimatullah says 'seven years' which appears to be wrong because the same authority says that Daulat Khān was born in 958 A.H. (BK., MS., No. 529, foll. 278-281).

2. Town in Dewas State, Central India, situated on the east bank of the Kali Sind, in 23°34'N. and 76°29'E. (Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XXII p. 95).

3. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, JNS., MS., p. 158.

4. Cf. *Ibid.*, BK., MS. No. 529, fol. 293a.

5. Cf. *Ibid.*, BK., MS. No. 529, fol. 284.

6. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, Rampur, MS. No. 381, p. 166. *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XXIII p. 37

7. Cf. *Ibid.*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 286.

Khān to the court of Akbar, who being pleased with him presented him besides other things with his own shawl.

After some time Khān-i-A'zam fell into disfavour with Akbar, left the court and began to pass a life of seclusion in the garden of his uncle Panja Khāni. He entrusted Daulat Khān to 'Abdur Raḥīm son of Bairam Khān, styled Mirza Khāni in 984 A.H. (1567 A.D.) just after his daughter's marriage with 'Abdur Raḥīm¹ and said, "Take care of this man, if you wish to rise high and to get your father's title."² Daulat Khān soon won the favour of Mirza Khāni and lived in close touch with him for 30 years. He was so much favoured that the Nawwab could not live without him for a moment. Ni'matullah writes that he was serving 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān as his librarian, when he found one day in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) that the Nawwab wrote a letter to Miān Daulat Khān with the following Hindi duhra on the top :—

میں جواہر پیم کے کا گدلکے بخانہ (گیان) رسنا کییں نہ انو (ان) پیر پھر نہ سمان

मे जा अच्छर पेम के कागद लिख्ये बखान । .

रमना खान न अनवयन फिर फिर मनहि समान ॥

The words of love that I have tried to describe on paper ;

Of course my tongue is helpless, and expression inadequate and hence (love) rises and falls in the heart over and over again.

In short, Miān Daulat Khān was so dear to Mirza Khāni that the latter used to praise him before the great men of the court like Abul Faḍl Ḥakīm Abul Faṭḥ Āṣaf Khān, Qāḍi Khān, etc.³ Jahangīr says that Khān-i-Khānān loved him as his own brother, nay even a thousand times better than his brother. Most of Khān-i-Khānān's victories were gained through Daulat Khān's valour and manliness.⁵

Most of the attendants of Khān-i-Khānān like Mulla Shikebī Iṣfahānī, Nazirī Nishāpuri, 'Urfī Shirāzī and Yul Quli Beg Anīsī were the fast friends of Daulat Khān, through whom they got favours from Khān-i-Khānān. Yul Quli Beg praises Daulat Khān thus :—⁶

دولت خان کہ دولت خانہ اوست مئی بہرام در پی نہ اوست

جو عزم کیں کند برف یمما نیست جو حرم آئین کند فاروق ثا نیست

The author of *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī* says, "If there had been thousands of Daulat Khān, he would have excelled them all in bravery."⁷

1. Cf. The *Ma'āthir al-Umara*, vol. II, p. 5.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, Rampur MS., No. 381, p. 168 and BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 289a.

4. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahān*, Rampur, MS., No. 381, p. 168, and BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 289b.

5. Cf. Rogers: The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 88. Rogers says that Jahangir did not like Khān-i-Khānān and so he belittles his services.

6. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahān*, BK., MS., 529, fol. 290b.

7. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, vol. III, p. 1629.

In 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.) Miān Muḥammad Khān, son of Daulat Khān, was born and two years later in 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) another child was born at the fort of Ranthambhur. This child was named Pir Khān.¹

In 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) Khān-i-Khānān was sent by Akbar to conquer Gujerat and to suppress the rebellion of Muzaffar Battu. Daulat Khān followed him there as his chief assistant. He distinguished himself in the wars in Gujerat.² Muzaffar Battu (Muzaffar III) could not prove himself equal to the imperial force and fled away. The fort of Aḥmadabād fell and Gujerat came into the possession of Akbar. Akbar raised the Nawwab to the position of 5000 and bestowed on him the title of A'zam Khān-i-Khānān.

After some years Akbar called Khān-i-Khānān back to the court. The latter appointed Daulat Khān as his lieutenant in Gujerat and himself proceeded towards Lahore. He reached there in 15 days. Akbar had a mind to conquer Sindh, Thatta and Sihwan. Therefore, he appointed the Nawwab as the governor of Multan and ordered him to lead an expedition to Sindh. Miān Daulat Khān, who had followed him there, was sent with 3000 soldiers to assist the Mughal force formerly sent to Sihwan. On the way he met Mirza Jāni, the king of Sindh, who had more than 10,000 soldiers with him.³ Miān Daulat Khān took a bold step by breaking twice the line of the enemy with his small force and defeated Mirzā Jāni Beg. Akbar honoured him by raising him to the rank of 2000 and the conquest of Sindh was recorded as his achievement.⁴

In 1599 A.D. Sulṭān Dāniāl was sent on the Deccan expedition under the guidance of Khān-i-Khānān. Miān Daulat Khān was all along with Khān-i-Khānān as his chief general in the Deccan expedition. When Khawaja Suhail⁵ faced the imperial force with 80,000 horsemen comprising Romans, Abyssinians and the Deccanis and 2000 elephants in the vicinity of Aḥmadnagar on the bank of Ban Gang (Rūd Gang), the imperial force found itself at a great disadvantage but due to the strategy of Daulat Khān, the Mughals came out victorious.

At the time when the Mughal force besieged the Aḥmadnagar fort the Abyssinians made a night attack on the Mughals. Daulat Khān and his two sons Miān Muḥammad Khān and Miān Pir Khān fought bravely, defeated the enemies and captured the fort. Pir Khān received a wound on his face. Thus Daulat Khān distinguished himself in the wars in Gujerat, Thatta (Sindh) and the Deccan.

When Sulṭān Dāniāl witnessed his skill in warfare, he asked his father-in-law Khān-i-Khānān to transfer Daulat Khān under him because he had no brave men like him in his retinue. At first Khān-i-Khānān

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK. MS., No. 529, fol. 291.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 292a.

3. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmi*, vol. III, p. 1628.

4. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 293a.

5. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmi*, vol. III, p. 1628.

did not agree to the proposal but at the solicitation of the prince and his own daughter, he at last yielded and placed Daulat Khān's services at his disposal in the month of Šafar 1009 A.H. (July, 1600 A.D.) and asked his son-in-law to treat Daulat Khān well, because he loved him as his own son.

The prince acted according to the advice of his father-in-law and raised him to the position of 3000¹ and granted him in jagir six parganas—Pargana Kavi from the sarkar of Gujerat, Pargana Dewal Gam, Pargana Kahalgaon, Pargana Nakaloor (Nakapoor) from Patna, etc.²

When Akbar reached Burhānpūr, prince Dāniāl leaving Daulat Khān to help Muḥammad Shāh Rukh, the commandant of Ahmadnagar went to congratulate his father at Burhānpūr on the capture of the fort of Ašir. After some time Daulat Khān died at the age of 52 years at Ahmadnagar on the 28th Shā'bān, 1010 A.H.³ (11th February, 1602 A.D.)

His body was brought from Ahmadnagar to Burhānpūr and buried there.⁴ His son Pir Khān constructed a lofty mausoleum and laid out a garden which became the evening resort of the people of Burhānpūr. He founded a town in its vicinity and named it Lodipura.⁵

Daulat Khān was one of the bravest men of his time. Akbar was always afraid of his courage and chivalry. When Akbar received the news of Daulat Khān's death, he said, "To-day Sher Khān Sūr has died."⁶ There are wonderful stories related about Daulat Khān's courage and daring.

It is said that when Akbar the Great sent Nawwab Khān-i-Khānān with Shahbāz Khān Kambu to suppress the rebellion of the Rana (Rana Partab Singh) about 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.), Miān Daulat Khān also followed them. One day trouble arose between Shahbāz Khān and Daulat Khān as a result of the violation of certain cavalry rules. Daulat Khān insisted on riding in front, which was not liked by Shahbāz Khān, who struck with a stick on the mouth of Daulat Khān's horse. The latter at once drew his sword and attacked Shahbāz Khān, who made his

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 295a.

2. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 295 and RASB, MS., No. 101 fol. 143. Jahāngir says "When my revered father, having taken the province of Khandesh and the fort of Ašir returned to Agra, he left Dāniāl in charge of that province and all the provinces acquired from the ruler of the Deccan. At this time Dāniāl separated Daulat Khān from the Khān-i-Khānān and was keeping him in attendance on himself handing over to him much favour and perfect affection until he died in his service." Rogers—*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, p. 80.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, Rampur MS., No. 381 p. 171. At the end of the 45th year, 1009 A.H. he died of colic at Ahmadnagar (Cf. *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. II, p. 6). Daulat Khān died in 1009 A.H. (Cf. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmi*, vol. III, p. 1631).

4. Cf. *Ibid.*, JNS., MS., p. 175. Daulat Khān died at Burhānpūr in Khandesh and was buried there (Cf. The *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmi*, vol. III, p. 1631).

5. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmi*, vol. III, p. 1631.

6. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. II, p. 6.

escape and complained to Khān-i-Khānān against Daulat Khān's misconduct. Ni'mātullah says that Khān-i-Khānān did not pay any heed to his complaint and further says that this incident was commonly known to everybody.¹ The author of *Ma'āthir-al-Umara* relates this story in a different way and says that Khān-i-Khānān took Daulat Khān to Shahbāz Khān's house and apologized on his behalf. Shahbāz Khān gave Daulat Khān a horse and a robe of honour and said "Be you the protagonist of the army and may you ever lead the way."²

Miān Daulat Khān left three children—two sons, Muhammad Khān and Pir Khān³ and one daughter. The sons were full of promise. Nawwab Sipahsalari ('Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān) discovered in them the signs of greatness even in their childhood and when under his patronage they rose to power, he used to tell them what he had felt.

Prince Sulṭān Murād showed them much favour. Prince Sulṭān Dāniāl took them with him to the Deccan and granted them assignments. The prince appreciated the chivalrous deeds that they performed on their arrival at the Deccan, in the battle fought with Khwāja Suhail Ḥabshī, in the siege of Aḥmadnagar fort, in the night attack of the Abyssinians and in opposing Rajū.⁴ The Emperor Jahāngir knowing their chivalry, wrote several times to Sulṭān Dāniāl to send them to the court. But due to their engagements they could not visit the court.⁵

Meanwhile Miān Muhammad Khān who was deeply religious was so preoccupied with divine contemplation that he often passed the whole night in prayer. He spent his time with dervishes. He became a disciple of Shāh 'Abdullah Sarmast Burhānpūrī. But before he could attain perfection in his mystic knowledge he went half-mad. Prince Dāniāl put Shāh 'Abdullah into prison and told him to cure Muhammad Khān of the madness. The Sheikh said that his disease had become incurable. One day Dāniāl asked Muhammad Khān, "Do you recognise me? who am I?" He replied, "What do you mean by 'who am I'? There is no difference between you and me. I am all."⁶ One day he rode out of Burhānpūr for a hunting and was separated from his companions and met a group of Kols and Bhils near the town of Pal⁷ and asked them the way to Burhānpūr. They made an attack on him. He fought bravely with them from morning to evening and killed twelve of them before he himself fell down dead. This event took place a year after Miān

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, BK., MS. No. 529, fol. 290.

2. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. II, pp. 6-7. See this book for another story also.

3. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, JNS., MS., p. 176. Nawwab Ṣamṣām-al Dawlah Shāh Nawāz Khān calls them Maḥmūd and Pirai respectively (Cf. the *Mā'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. II, p. 8).

4. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, RASB, MS., No. 101, fol. 144a; BK., MS., No. 629, fol. 300.

5. Cf. *Ibid.* RASB., MS., No. 101, fol. 144a; BK., MS., No. 52, fol. 300.

6. Cf. *Ibid.*, JNS., MS., p. 179.

7. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. II, p. 8. Pal is in Khandesh on the borders of Malwah (J. II, 222)

Dāulat Khān's death.¹ Prince Dāniāl went to the place of action but could not find any remains of his body. Pir Khān also went there but discovered only some hair of Muḥammad Khān's head. He devastated the lands of the Kols and the Bhils, who had played this mischief not knowing who Muḥammad Khān was. He left two sons—Miān Mumrez Khān and Bahādur Khān. They entered into the service of their own uncle.

Pir Khān was born at Ranthambor in 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) as said above. When young, he fell out with his father and fled with his elder brother Muḥammad Khān to Bengal. They were received by Mānsingh, who gave them Rs. 30,000.² Under the patronage of Sultān Dāniāl, Pir Khān rose to great eminence. The Prince loved him and called him his son.³ He lived with the Prince as long as the latter was alive. After Dāniāl's death he entered the service of Nawwāb 'Abd-al-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān and got lucrative jagirs.

Akbar died on Wednesday the 14th Jamādi-al-thāni, 1014 A.H. (October, 1605 A.D.) and Jahāngir ascended the throne on Thursday the 21st of the month.⁴ Jahāngir sent 'Abd-al-Raḥīm on the Deccan expedition and ordered that Pir Khān be asked to visit the court. In the meantime Mirzā 'Ali Akbar, one of the Mughal Umara came to the court from the Deccan and informed Jahāngir that most of the Mughal officers posted in the Deccan were renowned for their military prowess and Pir Khān, who was young and possessed all the qualities of a leader, was suitable to be enrolled as one of the chief courtiers. Accordingly, Jahāngir sent Muqarrib Khān with a letter to Miān Pir Khān ordering the latter to proceed at once to the court. Pir Khān carried out the order and left Burhānpūr (Khandesh) for Lahore, where the Emperor was camping after subduing the rebellion of Prince Khusraw. On his arrival at Lahore with the children of Dāniāl he met the Amir-al-Umara, who took him to the court. He was granted royal favour, and was entitled Ṣalābat Khān. He was also raised to the rank of 3000 personnel and 1500 horse.⁵ So great was the emperor's affection for him that he called him his son.⁶ Pir Khān accompanied the emperor, when he proceeded to Kabul on an excursion. On his return from Kabul to Lahore, the

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, JNS., MS., p. 180. Muḥammad Khān died a short time after his father. (Cf. Rogers—*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 89). In his 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kols near Pal and perished. (Cf. Blochmann—*Āin-i-Akbari*, p. 564).

2. Cf. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, pp. 716-717.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 717.

4. For the chronology of Akbar's death and Jahāngir's accession see the author's article: *The Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghāni—Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, July 1948.

5. Cf. T. Rogers—*The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. I, p. 87. Ni'matullah says that he was raised to the rank of 3000 and 2000 cavalry. (Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS., No. 529b, fol. 305).

6. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 305b; Rogers—*The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. I, p. 87.

Emperor favoured him with the title of Khān-i-Jahān, second in rank to Khān-i-Khānān. Jahāngir ordered Mulla Aḥmad, the best engraver of the time, to inscribe the following verse on a ring and favoured Khān-i-Jahān with that ring.¹

فرزند خاص شاه از قدرت اله خان جهان مرید جہا - گیر بادشاہ

Some of the nobles of the court growing jealous of his rising popularity poisoned the mind of the emperor by insinuating that it was impolitic to bestow so much favour on an Afghān. But as fortune was in his favour, the emperor paid no heed to their words and became attached to him all the more. Jahāngir raised him to the rank of 5000 personnel and horse at the village of Rankatta, 10 miles from Agra.²

In 1017 A.H. (April, 1608-March, 1609 A.D.) trouble again arose in the Deccan. Towards the close of his reign Akbar had succeeded in establishing his authority over Aḥmadnagar, but Malik 'Ambar, an African, restored the fallen dynasty of the Nizām Shāhi and taking advantage of the rebellion of Prince Khusraw, he began to capture many Mughal territories.³ Jahāngir ordered his son Sultān Parwiz to invade the Deccan under the leadership of 'Abd-al-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān. In spite of the attempt made by Khān-i-Khānān he could not regain Jalesar.⁴ Raja Mānsingh and Sharif Khān were sent to support Khān-i-Khānān but matters took an unfavourable turn. Jahāngir was determined to go personally on the Deccan expedition. Some of the faithful courtiers suggested that Khān-i-Jahān, who had experience of the Deccan should be sent to assist Prince Parwiz. Khān-i-Jahān himself requested the king to send him to the Deccan. Although the emperor did not like to be separated from him he agreed to the proposal for he too had great confidence in Khān-i-Jahān.⁵

When Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī was leaving Jahāngir put his own turban on his head, and helped him to get on horse-back. He started for the

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 305.

2. Cf. Rogers—The *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. I, p. 139.

3. Malik 'Ambar was a very industrious and talented Minister of Aḥmadnagar. He was famous in the history of the Deccan for his revenue reforms as was Raja Todar Mal in the history of Northern India. He reinforced the army and trained the Marathas in the tactics of guerilla warfare. For his biography see the author's article 'The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Maḥẓẓān-i-Afghānī*'—*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, April, 1948, p. 140.

4. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, RASB, MS., No. 101, fol. 150.

5. Jahāngir says, "I consulted with the Amirs and loyal men, and told them to represent whatever entered into anyone's mind. My son Khān-i-Jahān represented that in-as-much as so many Amirs had been despatched for the conquest of the Deccan, it was not necessary for me to go in person. If he were ordered, he himself would go and attend on the prince and would if it please God, perform this duty while serving him. Those words were approved by all those who were loyal. I had never contemplated separation from him, but as the affair was an important one I perforce gave him permission, and ordered that as soon as matters had been arranged he should return without delay, and should not remain more than a year in those regions." (Cf. Rogers the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. I, p. 161).

Deccan on the 7th Dhī-al-Qa'dah, 1018 A.H. (the 22nd January, 1610 A.D.) with 2000 troops and many famous nobles, and passed through the fort of Nurwār¹ and the town of Sironj.² They reached Burhānpūr on the 17th Muharram, 1019 A.H. (the 1st April, 1610 A.D.).³ Khān-i-Jahān after staying at Burhānpūr for 7 days and paying the soldiers two months' pay in advance started for Malkapur, where Prince Parwīz was engaged in quelling the rebellion of the Bargis. Khān-i-Jahān would have reached there by the 4th of Ṣafar, but his advance was checked by the Bargis. He had not gone far when his men had to encounter 20,000 Bargis. As the strength of the enemy was the greatest on the right flank Khān-i-Jahān posted his uncle Khidr Khān,⁴ the manager and 'vakil' of the army, on the right. The Bargis with 5000 soldiers attacked Khidr Khān. Ni'matullah witnessed that a young Barg attacked 'Isā Khān bin Fath Khān with a spear and in return 'Isā Khān attacked him with a sword. 'Isā Khān, who was pursuing the assailant, faced another Barg, wounded him and several others and returned. Sheikh Faid, brother of Sheikh Yāsīn, shot an arrow, piercing the right arm of a Barg, who ran away with the arrow still pierced in his arm. In the meantime Khidr Khān attacked the Bargis, who fled away. After a while the Bargis finding the men of Mirza Fathpūri indolent attacked them with 30 foot and 2 horsemen. Miān Khidr Khān at once came to their rescue and the Bargis, killing two or three young Afghāns, fled away. Khidr Khān pursued the Bargis for a great distance and killed

1. Nurwār lay on the right bank of the river Indus 44 miles south of Gwalior City [*Ain-i-Akbari* (j) II, 190].

2. Sironj is situated on the direct route between the Deccan and Agra, 24° 6' N. and 77° 43' E. in the estate of Tonk, Rajputana. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XXIII, p. 39).

3. Cf. *The Tārīkh-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS. No. 529, fol. 316. Jahāngir says, "On Tuesday, the 17th Dhī-al-Qa'da, he was free to go. I presented him with a special gold embroidered robe of honour, a special horse with a jewelled saddle, a jewelled sword, and a special elephant. I also gave him a yak-tail (tuman tugh). I appointed Fidā Khān, who was one of my faithful servants, and to whom I gave a robe of honour and a horse and his expenses, promoting him to the rank of 1000 personnel and 400 horse, original and extra, to go with Khān-i-Jahān in order that if it were necessary to send any one to 'Adil Khān, I also gave leave to go with Khān-i-Jahān bestowing on him a horse, a robe of honour, and money." Of the Amirs and soldiers who had been appointed with 'Abdu'llah Khān to the duty of beating back the Rana men such as Raja Bir Singh Deo, Shujā'at Khān, Rāja Bikramajit and others, with 4000 or 5000 horse, were nominated to support Khān-i-Jahān. I sent Mu'tamad Khān with the announcement that I had made him a sazawal (one who urges on others), and that he was to act along with Khān-i-Jahān in Ujjain. Of the men of the palace, I sent 6000 or 7000 horse with him, such as Saif Khān Barha, Hāji Uzbeq, Salamullah 'Arab, brother's son of Mubarak 'Arab, who had in his possession the province of Jutra (?) and Darful (?) and that neighbourhood and other mansabdars and courtiers. At the time of giving them leave I gave each one an increase of rank and robe of honour and money for their expenses. Making Muhammad Beg pay-master of the army, I provided him with 1,000,000 rupees to take with him. I sent to Parwīz a special horse, and to the Khān-i-Khānān and other Amirs and officers who were appointed to that Subah, dresses of honour." Rogers—*The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. I, pp. 161-62.

4. Cf. *The Tārīkh-i-Jahāni*, RASB, MS., No. 101 fol. 151. Dewal Gaon, a town in the Buldanā district, Berar, is situated in 20° 1' N. and 76° 5' E. (Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XI, p. 277).

some of them. But the imperial force unaccustomed to the warfare of the Deccanis sustained severe losses. These skirmishes took place at a distance of about 6 miles from the main force of Prince Parwīz. Khān-i-Khānān sent his sons Mirza Dārāb and Mirza, Erij to Khān-i-Jahān and he himself with Āṣaf followed them, Khān-i-Khānān came and took him to Prince Parwīz, who was encamped at the Balaghāt.

Next day after the arrival of Khān-i-Jahān, the Mughal force proceeded to crush the rebellion of Malik 'Ambar Chappu. At Dewal Gam¹ they suffered a set-back due to the scarcity of food, water and hay.² It was the month of 'sāwan.' Due to the drought the prices of articles went up very high. The people of the locality also suffered along with the Mughal army. The Bargis oppressed the people very much.

In the meantime 'Ambar Chappu sought for peace. Khān-i-Khānān, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mughal army, tired of wars, agreed on condition that all the parganas from the Balaghāt to Aḥmadnagar (Jalna, Mungi, Patan, etc.) which were in possession of the Mughals during the time of Prince Sultān Dāniāl be restored to the Mughals.³ Peace was concluded and Prince Parwīz returned to Burhānpūr after appointing his own jagirdar at the parganas of the Balaghāt.

No improvement was effected in the situation and the generals accused each other of bad plans and defective strategy. Khān-i-Jahān accused 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān of treason and offered to reconquer Mughal territories in the Deccan including Bijāpur, in two years, if the emperor would give him 30,000 men and place him in chief command, and added that he would not show his face to the servants of the court if he failed in the enterprise.⁴ Impressed by his reports and promises Jahāngir gave him the command in the month of Rajab, 1019 A.H. (September, 1610 A.D.) and sent Mahābat Khān to recall Khān-i-Khānān, who had left Burhānpūr for Agra on the 7th of Rajab, 1019 A.H. (September, 1610 A.D.). With Khān-i-Jahān as the chief commander, the Mughals assumed the offensive in full vigour. During his generalship the affairs of the Deccan were managed in such a way that the people were happy and prosperous. Men, who had been dispossessed of their jagirs, got them back.⁵

But though Khān-i-Khānān had been removed, the jealousy and wrangling among the 'Umara' remained as before and matters did not improve. The command was therefore given to Nawwāb Khān-i-A'zam

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī* Rampur, MS. No. 381, p. 185.

2. The price of one maund millet rose to Rs. 27/-.

Do flour to Rs. 40/-.

Do oil to Rs. 80/-.

and so on. Other articles and a bundle of grass cost Re. 1/- (See *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, Rampur, MS. No. 381, p. 185).

3. Cf. The *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 319.

4. Cf. The *Wāq'at-i-Jahāngiri*, Elliot, vol. VI, p. 323.

5. Cf. The *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, Rāmpūr, MS. No. 381, p. 185.

who reached Burhānpūr on the 2nd Rabi'-al-Awwal, 1020 A.H. (the 5th of May, 1611 A.D.) and took over the charge. Khān-i-Jahān began to spend his days with Prince Parwiz and received a robe of honour and horse, etc., from Jahāngir.¹

After the rainy season, in order to punish 'Ambar Chappu and his followers, Jahāngir ordered 'Abdullah Khān, the governor of Gujerat, to proceed with his force to Daulatābad by the western route and Prince Parwiz by the eastern route north of Daulatābad.

According to the royal command Prince Parwiz and Nawwāb Khān-i-A'zam left Burhānpūr for Daulatabad on Thursday night, the 19th Sha'bān of the year 1020 A.H. (17th October, 1611 A.D.). When they reached the village of Malkāpur, Nawwāb Khān-i-Jahān took leave of the prince and proceeded towards Ruhankhira² in order to punish a party of the Bargis (Marathas), who were plundering the people in the parganas of Khandesh. He punished them and returned to the prince.

On the report that Ya'qūb Khān Hābshī and Ādam Khān with a party of Marathas about 20,000 strong were descending from the Balaghāt and wanted to attack the countries of Khandesh and Berar, Nawwāb Khān-i-Jahān with Mānsingh and others started to punish the rebels. In spite of the fact that the main narrow pass of the Balaghāt was blocked and fortified by the Bargis, Khān-i-Jahān was determined to force his way to Daulatābad through the Balaghāt. One of the landlords of that area agreed to lead the imperial force across by another and easier route. That day the Nawwāb himself was in the vanguard, Rāja Mānsingh in the centre and Rāja Suratsingh and the Amir al-Umara drew up the rear. They crossed the Balaghāt and marched towards Daulatābad to crush the rebels as it was prearranged that 'Abdullah Khān and Khān-i-Jahān should converge at Daulatābad at a fixed time and attack the enemy on both the flanks.

Fortunately for the Deccan rebels it rained so heavily that the royal force under Khān-i-Jahān was held on the way for two or three days. The Bargis encircled the Mughals and devastated the surrounding regions. Khān-i-Jahān could not reach Daulatābad in time. At a place, 34 miles from Daulatābad he was informed that 'Abdullah Khān had reached Baidapur, 6 miles from Daulatābad, and finding himself unequal to the strength of the Bargis under Ya'qūb Khān, had departed after heavy losses, and that 'Ali Mardān Bahādur³ with his two sons Mirza Bahādur and Mirza Barkhurdār (Khān-e-'Ālam) and his nephew who had formed the rearguard, had been wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. This report spread dissension in the Mughal camp.

1. Cf. The *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahāni*, JNS., MS., p. 207.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, JNS., MS., p. 207.

3. A person attending 'Ali Mardān observed, "Victory is in the hand of God." 'Ali Mardān replied "Truly victory is with heaven (God) but the battle is for man." (Cf. The *Wāqī'āt-i-Jahāngiri*—Elliot, vol. VI, p. 343 n.)

The spirit of discord and envy was dominating the Mughal chiefs. They feared the enemy less than the success that might be achieved by any one of their rivals. Khān-i-Jahān was for battle but the others differed from him. All the chiefs suggested to him to return and not to proceed towards Daulatābad, where the enemies were in large numbers and had forced 'Abdullah Khān to retreat. But Khān-i-Jahān was firm in his determination and said that they did not stand in need of 'Abdullah's help. Rāja Mānsingh reminded him of the strength of the Bargis and of the possibility of their daily reinforcements and further added that if things took an unfavourable turn, there would surely be dissension in the army. Nawwāb Khān-i-Jahān told Rāja Mānsingh that he might please himself, but he was bent upon opposing the enemy.

Meanwhile it was reported that Khawājā Abul Ḥasan with about 6000 soldiers was encamped at the passage of Tarattum Patiala and for fear of the enemy could not advance and join the force of Khān-i-Jahān. At the same time a letter also came from Khawājā Abul Ḥasan requesting Khān-i-Jahān to devise a way for uniting the forces of both of them. On the suggestion of Mānsingh, Khān-i-Jahān proceeded towards Tarattum Patiala, which was only 24 miles from his camp. After three days' march Khawājā Abul Ḥasan with his men joined Khān-i-Jahān. One night the Bargis attacked the Mughal force under Khān-i-Jahān but his advance guard Birsingh Bundela killed some of the Bargis, arrested others and drove the rest. Next morning all the chiefs suggested to Khān-i-Jahān to return, because Khān-i-A'zam the chief commander of the Mughal army was not taking any interest in the campaign. Khān-i-Jahān replied that he would not return by his own will. Thereupon Rāja Mānsingh and Khawājā Abul Ḥasan wrote to the prince that they might be called back. During this time 'Adil Shāh Dakhni sued for peace. The army was called back, and the campaign was abandoned. A treaty was concluded and Prince Parwīz with his men returned to Burhānpūr in the month of Muḥarram, 1021 A.H. (March, 1612 A.D.).

Khawājā Abul Ḥasan reported to Jahāngir that if proper precautions had been taken and the two forces fully co-operated the campaign would have been successful. Jahāngir observed: "Affairs in the Deccan were in a very unsatisfactory state, in consequence of the bad generalship and want of care of Khān-i-A'zam and a defeat had been suffered by 'Abdullah Khān."¹ Jahāngir wanted to lead an expedition to retrieve the position, but Khawājā Abul Ḥasan remonstrated and so the emperor resolved to send Khān-i-Khānān again.²

Khān-i-Jahān was appointed the governor of Berar in place of Mirza Rustam. He left Burhānpūr on Friday, the 2nd Rabi'-al-Awwal, 1021 A.H. (3rd April, 1612 A.D.) and reached Elichpūr, the capital of Berar on the 19th of the same month. Jahāngir sent him presents and 'Naṣīhat

1. Cf. *The Wāq'iat-i-Jahāngiri*, (Elliot, vol. VI, p. 333).

2. Cf. *Ibid*, (Elliot, vol., VI, p. 334).

nāmah-i-Jahāngiri' and added some more Mahals to his jagir of Elichpūr.¹ Khān-i-Jahān established himself at Elichpūr, and passed in enjoyment one year and nine months (from Rabi'-al-thāni, 1021 A.H. to Dhilhijja, 1022 A.H.).

Jahāngir desired to see Khān-i-Jahān and a letter was written to him with the royal signature that as the affairs of the Deccan were the direct concern of Khān-i-Khānān he should proceed to the court, and that if he would make delay, no letter would be written to him again. On receiving the letter he consulted his Chief Secretary Bhagwan Das, who suggested to him that he should take permission from the prince and Khān-i-Khānān and added that it would have been better if he would have waited for a month as the season of the autumnal crops was approaching. He wrote to Khān-i-Khānān, who asked him to wait till he received the reply to his letter written to Jahāngir.² Some of the selfish nobles insinuated the king that Khān-i-Jahān did not like to come to the court because he had not performed his task well. A royal mandate was issued for his return from Elichpūr to Thanesar in order to chastise the rebel Kols and Bhils.³

Accordingly Khān-i-Jahān came to Burhānpūr and from there proceeded towards Thanesar on the 9th Šafar, 1023 A.H. (11th March, 1614 A.D.)⁴ He took up his residence in the strong fort there and engaged himself in administering justice and in redressing the grievances of the distressed. All the assignment-holders came and paid homage to him. When he had passed a year and seven months at Thanesar, the prince wrote to Jahāngir that Khān-i-Jahān might be allowed to attend him. Jahāngir sent his instructions through a messenger post-haste. The message was that he should proceed to serve under Prince Parwīz. Khān-i-Jahān started from Burhānpūr on the 27th Šah'ban, 1023 A.H. (the 22nd September, 1614 A.D.) and reached there in the month of Ramaḍān.⁵ He entered the service of Prince Parwīz. Often after 'Aṣr prayers he used to play polo with the prince and witness with him the fight of elephants. He stayed there for nine lunar months. During this period he was several times remembered by Jahāngir through letters.

Once Nūr Jahān suggested to him that since he was so eager for the companionship of Khān-i-Jahān and since the latter's services were no longer required in the Deccan he should be called and asked to apprise the emperor of the real position of the Deccan affairs, and someone else might, if the situation in the Deccan so demanded, be sent instead. Accordingly the emperor issued a 'farman' about Khān-i-Jahān. On the receipt of the royal order the prince and Khān-i-Khānān wrote to

1. Cf. *The Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, JNS., MS., p. 214b.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 333.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*,

4. *Ibid.*, Bk., MS., No. 529, fol. 334b.

5. Cf. *Ibid.*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 335b.

Jahāngir that his services were still required in the Deccan. Jahāngir again wrote that he should be sent at once and that after discussion of the Deccan affairs with him he would be sent back. On the 4th Jamādi-al-thāni, 1024 A.H. (the 21st June, 1615 A.D.) Khān-i-Jahān took leave of the prince and encamped near Kala Chabutra and next pitched his tent at Sarai Bihāri Das. On the next day he started for Ajmir, where the emperor was camping. When he reached near Chittaur, it rained heavily but he did not stop and after twenty-two days' journey covering a distance of 800 miles, reached Ajmir. Prince Khurram sent one of his chief attendants to receive him. At the royal order Āṣaf Khān, Nawwāb Mahābat Khān and others went to receive Khān-i-Jahān, who had pitched his tent in the vicinity of Ajmir near the tomb of Shāh Madār.¹ Nūr Jahān sent to him various kinds of fruit and Jahāngir a portion of his own meal. After the 'Aṣr prayers Jahāngir, like Akbar, used to stand at his 'Jharoka' and from there he used to have a look at his army and subjects. When he saw Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī he raised his head and cried out "Baba Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī! Are you well? Come near."² Khwāja Abul Hasan, the Bakhshi took him to Jahāngir according to the Mughal custom. Jahāngir embraced him and kissed his forehead. Khān-i-Jahān presented the king with four pieces of ruby of the pomegranate shape and five grains of pearl, which were the 'khirāj' of the country and one hundred gold coins.³ Jahāngir put him the following questions:

(1) What is the reason of your retreat from the Balaghāt in your first campaign?

(2) Why did not the reinforcement under 'Abdullah Khān reach you in the second campaign?

(3) What is the situation in the Deccan like and what is the nature of Khān-i-Khānān's activities?

Nawwāb Khān-i-Jahān explained to him what had happened.

One of the courtiers criticised Khān-i-Khānān and suggested that as long as he would be there, the Deccan campaign would not be successful as he was not performing his duties sincerely. Khān-i-Jahān supported the cause of Khān-i-Khānān and said that he was sincere and just in his affairs. The antagonists had been too strong to be suppressed. It required time. Jahāngir said that ten years had elapsed since the Mughal force was engaged in the Deccan and a large amount of money had already been spent on this account but there was no progress. It meant that Khān-i-Khānān was not working properly. Prince Khurram interrupted and said that if he were allowed to proceed from Gujerat and Sultān Parwīz from Burhānpūr to the Deccan, the Deccan could be conquered.

1. Bahauddin Sheikh Madār was the founder of the Madāria sect in India. He lived in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqi of Jaunpur. (Cf. Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 364).

2. Cf. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 339.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 340. Jahāngir says that Khān-i-Jahān presented as an offering 1000 mohurs, 1000 rupees, 4 rubies, 20 pearls, one emerald, and a jewelled 'phul katara,' the total value being 50,000 rupees. (Cf. Rogers—The *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 297).

Nawwāb Khān-i-Jahān replied that Sultān Parwiz was the heir and had been engaged in the Deccan for some years past and his atālīq Khān-i-Khānān was making the utmost effort to conquer the Deccan. Khurram's arrival there would cause dissension and disunity. It was true that they were not successful and they were not equal to the task ; but it was hoped that the following year they would come out successful. Jahāngir presented him with an 'Irāqī horse, received from Shāh 'Abbās-al-Ḥusaini of Persia. Sultān Khurram had requested Jahāngir to give him that horse but in vain. Its price was 90,000 tūmān (Rs. 21,000). It was very beautiful, strong and of a good stature and was perhaps next only to the horses of Rustam and Amir Hamzah.¹

On the 8th of the month of Shahrewar, Khān-i-Jahān took his leave of the emperor for proceeding to the Deccan. Jahāngir presented him with a robe of honour, a special elephant and a special sword.² In the Deccan there were 330 manṣabdars, 3000 ahadis, 700 horse from the Umaqs, and 3000 Dalazak Afghāns, 30000 cavalry, and Rs. 3,000,000 in the treasury and an efficient artillery and war elephants.³ At the request of Khān-i-Jahān, Shahbāz Khān Lōdī was raised to the manṣab of 2000 personnel and 1000 horse.⁴ At the request of Khurram Jahāngir increased the manṣab of Khān-i-Jahān by 1000 personnel and horse, thus making it 6000 personnel and horse in total and bestowed on him an 'Irāqī horse in 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.).

In 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.) Darāb Khān, son of Khān-i-Khānān, and Khān-i-Jahān entertained Jahāngir. Khān-i-Jahān's invitation was accepted by the emperor. From the presents of Khān-i-Jahān, Jahāngir accepted one pearl, bought for Rs. 20,000 with other rarities to the value of Rs. 130,000.⁵

Khān-i-Jahān was in charge of the city and fort of Agra and of the whole district. But after the rainy season, when Jahāngir started on a hunting expedition for Kashmir, he took Khān-i-Jahān with him and entrusted his work to Lashkar Khān, who had recently come from the Deccan.⁶

In 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī fell ill due to excessive drinking and from that time onwards he gave it up.⁷ While Khān-i-Jahān was in Kashmir with Jahāngir the latter gave him 'Inch',⁸ a beautiful village in Kashmir. Khān-i-Jahān entertained the king and presented

1. Cf. *The Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni*, BK., MS., No. 529, fol. 345a.

2. Cf. Rogers - *The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. 1, p. 290.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 299.

4. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 299.

5. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 80.

6. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 81.

7. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 105.

8. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. II p. 172.

This 'Inch' may be 'Yeach' Pargana of Stein 190-91.

gifts to him. Jahāngir says, "I chose a trifle in order to please him."¹

In 1620 A.D., when the Persians threatened Qandahar, Khān-i-Jahān was appointed governor of Multān and the emperor bestowed on him precious gifts of honour. Sayyid Hizabr Khān was raised to the position of 500 personnel and 200 horse and ordered to follow him. Md. Shafi was appointed Bakhshī and newswriter to the Subah of Multān and Ray Bhawal was made head of the artillery. During his governorship Qandahar was besieged by Shāh 'Abbās of Persia in 1622 A.D. He reported the matter to Jahāngir who was in Kashmir at that time. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān quitted the place immediately and began to make preparations for the campaign. The emperor sent Khwāja Abul Hasan, the Diwan, and Šādiq Khān the Bakhshī, in advance to Lahore to collect the royal force there and to proceed to Multān. Khān-i-Jahān got instructions not to face the enemy before the arrival of the reinforcements under Shahryār.² Many of the Deccan Amirs were sent to his help. Aṣālat Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān was promoted to the rank of 2000 and 1000 horse.³ Shāh 'Abbās captured Qandahar after a siege of 40 days. Prince Khurram was appointed to reconquer Qandahar and Khān-i-Jahān was ordered to make arrangements at Multān for the expedition. It is said that many Afghāns from near Qandahar came to him at Multān and declared their desire to serve under Khān-i-Jahān on condition that every horseman and each foot soldier would be paid five tankas and two tankas respectively. They were ready to supply the Mughal force with corn at 5 seers a rupee and to conquer the countries for them. But Khān-i-Jahān refused their assistance on the ground that their attachment to him would not be liked by Jahāngir.⁴ In the meantime matters changed and the imperial plan was frustrated by the refusal of Shāh Jahān to go on that expedition. He suspected that during his absence from the capital, Nūr Jahān and Āṣaf Khān would do their best to push the claims of Shahryār for the throne.

Mu'iz-al-Mulk was sent to Multān to call Khān-i-Jahān. He came back with the son of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, namely Aṣālat Khān and informed the king that he was seriously ill. Nawwāb Šamsamu'd-Dawlah Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of the Ma'āthir-al-Umara says that Jahāngir ordered Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī several times to return from Multān but he did not do so. So the king himself wrote adding the curious remark that even Sher Khān Sūr in spite of his enmity would, after so many requests, have obeyed.⁵ The delay was due to his serious illness. On his recovery he came from Multān, paid homage to the king and presented 1000 gold coins and a ruby of the value of Rs. 10,000, a pearl

1. Cf. Rogers—*The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. II, p. 172.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 233-34.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 245.

4. Cf. *The Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 720.

5. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 720.

and other jewels. Khān-i-Jahān was appointed the commandant of the fort of Agra and placed in charge of the treasury.

In 1623 A.D. the villagers and cultivators on the other side of the Jumna near Mathura had taken to plundering. Khān-i-Jahān was sent to chastise them. He crossed the river and made a hot attack on them. Many of them were slaughtered: their women and children were taken prisoners and much booty fell in his hands.

When Prince Khurram rebelled against his father, fled to the east and marched up to the border of Orissa in 1624 A.D., Prince Parwīz and Mahābat Khān were ordered to make provision for the security of the Deccan and then march towards Allahabad and Bihar so that if the governor of Bengal was unable to prevent the advance of the rebel prince, they might be there to oppose him. Khān-i-Jahān was ordered to proceed to Agra to watch the turn of affairs and to act as the occasion might require.¹ On the death of Khān-i-A'zam, Khān-i-Jahān was appointed the governor of Gujerat. When Mahābat Khān was appointed the governor of Bengal, he acted as the wakil of Prince Parwīz, whom he joined at Burhānpūr.² Khān-i-Jahān informed Jahāngir that 'Abdullah Khān had abandoned Shāh Jahān and forwarded Shāh Jahān's letters of submission to Jahāngir, who granted him pardon.

Prince Parwīz died at the age of 38 on the 6th Šafar, 1035 A.H. (the 28th October, 1625 A.D.). Jahāngir was very deeply grieved by the death of his son and appointed Khān-i-Jahān the sole authority over the Deccan affairs. Ya'qūb Khān Habshī, who was second to Malik Ambar in the Deccan, sent a letter of submission to Khān-i-Jahān, who assured him of safety and sent his officers to bring him to Burhānpūr. Murtaḍa Nizām-al-Mulk II in alliance with Fath Khān, son of Malik Ambar appointed Hamid Khān, an Abyssinian slave, his commander-in-chief and took hostile measures against the Mughals. Khān-i-Jahān placed Lashkar Khān in charge of Burhānpūr and marched to Khirki to frustrate Hamid Khān's attempt. Hamid Khān persuaded him to accept three lacs of *huns* as annual tribute and in return to cede all the conquered country of the Balaghāt as far as the fortress of Aḥmadnagar, to Nizām-al-Mulk. The revenue of the Balāghat country amounted to 55 crores of 'dams.' He considered it advantageous for the state to make peace with the Deccanis who were not easy to conquer. It is said that he thought it prudent to win over Nizām-al-Mulk to his side by this act of kindness. But Nawwāb Šamsāmu'd-Dawla remarked that the stigma of a bad name remained with him.³ Jahāngir remarks "Shame upon this faithless man, who forgot his duty and bartered away such a territory for three lacs of

1. Cf. Rogers—*The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. II, pp. 294-95; and the *Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngiri*, Elliot, VI, p. 408.

2. Cf. *The Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 721; and the *Iqbāl Nāmah-Jahāngiri*, Elliot, VI p. 418.

3. *Ibid.*

huns !"¹ However, Khān-i-Jahān ordered the commandants of the various forts in the territory of the Balaghāt, to evacuate their posts for the agents of Nizām-al-Mulk and repair to Burhānpūr. Most of them complied with the order and withdrew to the Deccan capital; but Sipāhdār Khān, the commandant of Aḥmadnagar refused and boldly replied to the agent of Nizām-al-Mulk "Take possession of the country; for it belongs to you; but I will not surrender the fort without a royal farman."²

During this time Mahābat Khān rebelled, fled from the court and joined Shāh Jahān at Junar.³ Jahāngir bestowed his title "sipahsālari" on Khān-i-Jahān.⁴ Soon after Jahāngir died on October 28, 1627 A.D. and his descendants began to fight for the throne of Delhi. On getting information of his father's death Shāh Jahān, being in no position to force his way through the government of Khān-i-Jahān who refused to follow him, made a detour through Aḥmadabad (Gujarat) and Ajmir (Mewar) and came to Agra and ascended the throne on the 1st Jamādi-al-thāni, 1040 A.H. (the 31st July, 1630 A.D.). He had before his accession sent Nithār Khān to Khān-i-Jahān with the news that he was confirmed in the governorship of the Deccan. But Khān-i-Jahān sent back Nithār Khān without any definite reply because he believed that Shahryār or Dāwar Bakhsh was more likely ultimately to succeed. Besides he was told by Daryā Khān Rohila and Fāḍil Khān, the dewan of the Deccan that as Dāwar Bakhsh had been declared emperor by the army and Shahryār, the son-in-law of Nūr Jahān declared himself emperor at Lahore, Khān-i-Jahān should also aim at the crown, because he was a man of great power and would find numerous and strong adherents. He did not take the side of any prince in the contest. He tried to gain power and waited for the final result of the contest.

During the interval of three years between the death of Jahāngir and the accession of Shāh Jahān, Khān-i-Jahān taking advantage of his position as governor of the Deccan, and of his having numerous adherents, left a small force at Burhānpūr under the command of one of his relatives, Sikandar Dotāni, and proceeded with a large force to Mandu with the intention of taking possession of Mālwa, which was governed by Mir 'Abd-al-Razzāq Muzaffar Khān. He got what he wanted. But when the news of Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne became known to all, he was abandoned by some of his Rajput supporters, namely Raja Gaj Singh, Raja Jai Singh and other distinguished officers.⁵ Many chiefs

1. The *Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngiri*, Elliot, VI. p. 434. Khāfi Khān says the bribe offered was six lacs of pagodas. Muntakhabul Lubāb, p. 411.

2. The *Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngiri*, Elliot, VI, p. 434.

3. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 721. 56 miles north of Poona Town. (Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XIV, p. 239).

4. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 722.

5. The *Padshah Nama*, (Elliot, VII, p. 8).

wanted to support him, but finding him unwilling, deserted him.' The proclamation of Dāwar Bakhsh proved to be only stratagem adopted by Asaf Khān in favour of Shāh Jahān. Khān-i-Jahān repented for his refractory conduct when he was informed of the death of Shahryār, the imprisonment of Nūr Jahān, the murder of Dāwar Bakhsh and finally the accession of Shāh Jahān to the throne of Delhi.

When Shāh Jahān heard how Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi had humiliated his messenger Nithār Khān, he sent Mahābat Khān and his son Khān-i-Zamān, the governor of Mālwa to punish the refractory governor of the Deccan. Khān-i-Jahān in the meanwhile wrote a letter to Shāh Jahān humbly explaining how difficult it was to support him against the will of Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān, who had resolved to place Shahryār on the throne. But now that his accession was an accomplished fact he did not hesitate to obey his commands. He was thus pardoned, confirmed in the governorship of the Deccan and ordered to return at once to Burhānpūr.¹ He was directed to recover the country. The result was that he was recalled to the capital and replaced by Mahābat Khān. He was appointed to the governorship of Mālwa. Dow says that Shāh Jahān was not sincere in his pardon which he promised to Khān-i-Jahān. His pride revolted at the indignities offered him by Lōdi and he resolved to punish him² at the proper time.

In the second year of the reign, when Khān-i-Jahān, after chastising Jujhar Singh, came to Agra, he was treated by the emperor with cold politeness. The emperor remarked on the strong contingent, which he had brought with him to the capital and told him not to keep so much force under him. Several parganas of his jagirs were taken away from him and given to others.³ But 'Abdul Hamid Lahori says otherwise : "The emperor paid little heed to the reports and observations about his improper conduct, and for eight months passed no censure upon him. He still continued moody and discontented, and ready to listen to the incitements and suggestions of mischievous men."⁴ Though he was subjected to no punishment beyond the loss of office, yet for a great general and brave man it was more than a punishment that he was deprived of his power and force and disparaging remarks were freely made against him by the courtiers. This made him moody and discontented and he found no pleasure in the life of the court. One night Mirza Lashkari, son of Mukhlis Khān told the son of Khān-i-Jahān that they would be imprisoned in a day or two.⁵ Khān-i-Jahān shut himself up with his sons and 2000 Afghān adherents in his quarters. Shāh Jahān asked

1. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 723.

2. Khān-i-Jahān Lōdi was left in possession of the government of Mālwa (*Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 723).

3. Dow—*History of Hindustan*, vol. III, p. 130

4. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 723.

5. Elliot—*History of India*, vol. VII, p. 8.

Āṣaf Khān the reason of Khān-i-Jahān's absence from the court. Islām Khān was sent to him to inquire. Khān-i-Jahān begged for a letter of safety as he suspected the emperor's displeasure. Shāh Jahān issued him the letter of assurance and Khān-i-Jahān visited the court. Āṣaf Khān tried to console him but nothing served to allay his suspicions. "His friends at court, however, acquainted him with the fact that there was a resolution formed against his life, and he resolved to make his escape, or to die in the attempt."¹ The rumours of his intended arrest upset his equanimity and forced him to leave Agra after eight months. In October, 1629 A.D. Āṣaf Khān, the father-in-law of the emperor, informed Shāh Jahān that Khān-i-Jahān was preparing to fly. Shāh Jahān, who was not inclined to go back on his promise of forgiveness, decided to wait on events.² On the night of the 27th Ṣafar, 1039 A.H. (the 7th October, 1629 A.D.) Khān-i-Jahān collected all his troops, placed his women-folk in the centre on elephants and rushed through the city with his kettle-drums beating, accompanied by twelve of his sons, his nephew Bahādur and 2000 veteran Afghāns. When passing through the Hatyapul Gate, he humbly exclaimed, "O God, Thou knowest that I fly for the safety of my honour; rebellion is not my intention."³ The same night the emperor ordered Khwāja Abul Ḥasan to pursue the fugitive. He started next morning. Khān-i-Jahān was stopped by the swollen river Chumbal. He could not swim across the stream, and all the boats had been carried down by the current. In the midst of his anxiety he was overtaken by the vanguard of the Mughal force in the vicinity of Dholpur, 35 miles from Agra. The Afghāns posted themselves on the rugged and difficult ground on the bank of the river and resolved upon battle. A fierce engagement took place in which his sons Ḥusain and 'Azmat and son-in-law Shams with his two brothers, Muḥammad and Maḥmūd, the grandsons of 'Ālam Khān Lōdī and sixty chief adherents (like Bhikan Khān Quraishi) were killed.⁴ Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī also inflicted much loss on the Mughals. Raja Pirti Singh Rahtor and Khān-i-Jahān were engaged in a hand-to-hand contest and separated after inflicting wounds upon each other. He thought it safe to escape. Placing his wives and daughters on elephants, entrusted to some of his favourite servants, and with his two sons and a few followers he plunged into the swollen river and managed to cross it. Many horses and baggage fell into the hands of the royal forces.⁵

The Mughal vanguard did not, at first, venture to follow the fugitives, but when they were joined by the main body under Khwāja Abul Ḥasan, they collected boats and renewed the pursuit next day.

1. Dow, Alexander—*History of Hindustan*, vol. III, p. 132.

2. *The Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 724.

3. *Ibid*, p. 725.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Cf. *The Padshah Namah*, Elliot, vol. VII, p. 9.

While the pursuers were collecting boats, Khān-i-Jahān got sufficient time to evade imperial forces under Bikramajit, the eldest son of Jujhar Singh. He was then able to make his way through Gundel-Khand into the wild and woody country of Gondwana, whence he escaped to the country of his old ally, Burhān Nizām-al-Mulk. Here he was joined by Sikandar Dotāni and Bahlūl Khān, jagirdar of Balāpūr. He was received warmly by Nizām-al-Mulk, who placed him in charge of the pargana of Bir,¹ gave him money for expenses and nominally assigned to him some land belonging to the Mughals with instructions to conquer them.

The emperor expressed great uneasiness at the escape of Khān-i-Jahān and said, "If Bikramajit had not thus connived at his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed."² The serious nature of the situation was not lost upon Shāh Jahān who realized that if Khān-i-Jahān succeeded in forming a confederacy of the southern powers and himself took the lead of their combined armies, it would be difficult to retain the southern provinces of the empire. In dealing with the rebel Afghāns, Shāh Jahān had to take account of the three southern kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golkunda, which, though jealous of each other, could on occasion form alliances to repel the Mughals. Experience had also shown that the Marathas, whose leader was Jadu Rai at that time could not safely be neglected. Things now took such a serious turn that the emperor not only sent his best available troops but also started to take the field in person at the head of a great army in Rabī'-al-Awwal, 1039 A.H. (October, 1629). Shāh Jahān halted at Burhānpūr and divided his army into three detachments—one under Khwāja Abul Hasan was despatched to Dhulia³ to command the route for supplies from Gujerat and to threaten Aḥmadnagar from the north-west, while the main force was concentrated at Dewalgaon in the south of Berar ready to attack from the north-east. A third detachment was sent towards Telingana, north of Hyderabad State.

Dow says, "The sudden arrival of the emperor with such great force was, however, premature for the affairs of Lōdi. He had not yet been able to unite the armies of his allies, nor to raise a sufficient force of his own. The terror of the imperial army had made each prince unwilling to quit his own dominions lest they should become the theatre of invasion and war. They saw the storm gathering, but they knew not where it was to break; and when they were afraid of all quarters, they took no effectual means for defence. They were, besides, divided in their counsels. Ancient jealousies and recent injuries were remembered, while the good of the whole was forgotten. Distrust prevailed, indecision and terror followed and the unfortunate Lōdi, in spite of his activity, his zeal and abilities,

1. Situated in Hyderabad State. (Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. VIII, p. 239).

2. Cf. *The Padshah Namah*, Elliot, vol. VII, p. 10.

3. District Khandesh, Bombay. It is situated 35 miles north of Chalisgaon in 20° 54' N. and 74° 47' E. (Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XI, p. 337).

found but small ground on which he could rest his hopes."¹

When Khān-i-Jahān was at Rajauri near the town of Bir (Hyderabad State), he sent his men to collect revenue, a difficult task because of the famine which had broken out seriously in Gujerat and the Deccan. He was expecting help from Muqarrib Khān, commander of the Aḥmadnagar force at Jalna, east of Aurangabad. Khān-i-Jahān passed the rainy season at Rajauri. At the close of the rains A'zam Khān started from Dewalganw about 60 miles south of Burhānpūr, to attack Khān-i-Jahān before the arrival of reinforcements from Muqarrib Khān who had left Jalna (Aurangabad) for Dharwar² in the Balaghāt east of Aḥmadnagar. A'zam Khān, crossing the Ban Ganga river reached Pipalnir, 12 miles from Bir and instructed Ṣaf Shikan Khān Razwī, the commandant of the fort of Bir "to manouvre his force on Khān-i-Jahān's flank, so that he might think this small force to be the whole of the royal army, and refrain from moving away."³ Ṣaf Shikan did accordingly and 'Azīz, son of Khān-i-Jahān advanced to attack him but seeing the royal force approaching under the generalship of A'zam Khān fell back in disorder to his father, who finding his retreat cut off, made up his mind to make a stand. He sent away the elephant litter with his women-folk towards the north-west to Siu-Ganw, about 40 miles north-east of Aḥmadnagar and rallied his troops. He sent his nephew Bahādur Khān Lōdī against one of the smaller Mughal detachments under Bahādur Khān Rohila. A desperate struggle followed in which the Mughals were first put into confusion but were reinforced by small detachments—led by Muslim and Hindu chiefs—Raja Bihar Singh Bundela, Raja Jai Singh Sipahsālar Khān, etc. No less than six chiefs of rank including Bahādur Khān Rohila fell on the imperial side. After a preliminary success, the Afghāns lost heart on the approach of the main Mughal force under A'zam Khān and fled from the battlefield. 'Abdul Ḥamid Lahōri recognizing the chivalry of the Afghāns says, "At this time, when many of the imperial officers had fallen, and the result seemed doubtful, the favour of heaven fell upon the royal forces."⁴ In the flight Bahādur Khān was wounded and killed by Paras Ram, a servant of Rāja Bihār Singh. His head was set up over the gates of Bir as a warning to others. As the Mughals were tired of the long journey, they pursued the Afghāns only for 6 miles on that day and killed many of them. Khān-i-Jahān escaped with his ladies and a few followers. He hastened north to Baidāpur, 25 miles west of Aurangabad passing through Siu-Ganw in the hope of taking refuge at Daulatābad. Daryā Khān joined him on the way.⁵ A'zam Khān sent a detachment in pursuit of the fugitive before he followed with his main force of 20,000 horse. Darwesh Muḥammad with

1. Dow's *History of Hindustan*, vol. III, p. 138.

2. Situated in 15° 27' N. and 75° 1' E. Bombay, (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XI, p. 315).

3. *The Padsha Nama*, Elliot, VII., p. 13.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *The Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 728.

a party of pursuers captured the female elephant, left behind by the ladies of Khān-i-Jahān and made a number of Afghāns and their women prisoners. Khān-i-Jahān came to Daulatābad, where he was asked by his men to assume kingship, but he refused to do so at such a critical moment. At this Bahlūl and Sikandar deserted him.¹

The resourceful general A'zam Khān proved more than a match for Khān-i-Jahān, who was driven from place to place round Daulatābad till his Maratha and Muslim supporters left him in despair.

Shāhji Bhonsla withdrew his Maratha support from Aḥmadnagar after the murder of his father-in-law Jadu Rai and offered his services to A'zam Khān. Nizām Shāh shut himself up in the fort of Daulatābad. The affairs of Nizām Shāh were desperate. He applied for peace. He was asked to hand over the rebel and so Khān-i-Jahān was afraid that expediency would get the better of friendship. Khān-i-Jahān attempted a diversion by sending his best general Daryā Khān with 1000 men north-west to make raid on Andol, Dharan-Ganw, about 25 miles east of Chandor² and north-west of Aurangabad. The scarcity of provisions was increased by the presence of troops round about Daulatabad. On the approach of 'Abdullah Khān with a Mughal force, Daryā Khān turned back to the Balaghāt. A'zam Khān finding food and fodder scarce about Daulatābad marched with Shāhji Bhonsla towards Dharur to chastise Muqarrib Khān and Bahlūl and they were driven out to Daulatābad via Bir.

Overwhelmed by the defeat of his allies, the destruction of the country, the calamities of famine and pestilence and insecure position, Khān-i-Jahān in concert with his chief adherents Daryā Khān, Ajmal Khān Tarin and Ṣadar Khān and his remaining sons resolved to escape to the Punjab in the hope of obtaining some help from the disaffected north-western Afghān tribes, who were at that time up in arms. With this intention he left Daulatābad for Mālwa and crossing the Narbada reached the outskirts of Ujjain. But the emperor, having anticipated such a movement on the part of the rebel, had taken the necessary precautions and sent detachments chiefly under 'Abdullah Khān and Muzaffar Khān Barha to guard the routes. They went on pursuing the fugitives from place to place including spots like Dibalpur, Ujjain, Mandisor, etc., in Mālwa and the mountain passes. Therefore Khān-i-Jahān was not able to reach that country and turned right from Siron where he seized fifty imperial elephants and proceeded to Bundelkhand in the hope of receiving help from his old friend Bikramajit. When he had received timely warning from Shāh Jahān he instead of assisting him opposed his further march. A strong engagement followed on the 17th Jamādi-al-thāni, 1040 A.H. (the 12th December, 1630 A.D.) in which four hundred Afghāns including Daryā

1. The *Ma'āthir-al-Umara*, vol. I, p. 728.

2. 20° 20' N., 74° 15' East. (Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. X, p. 166).

Khān and two hundred Bundelas were killed. Bikramajit was handsomely rewarded for his services and was entitled Jagraj.

Khān-i-Jahān fled, but it was to accumulate misery. He was greatly distressed by the death of Daryā Khān. He was followed closely by the royal force under Muzaffar Khān. On their approach he sent off some of his wounded Afghāns with the little baggage that was left and himself prepared to face the enemy in the country of Bhandar (north-east of Jhansi). In the sharp contest that followed many fell on both sides. Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī was wounded and his son Maḥmūd was killed. He fled to Kalinjar. His twenty elephants fell in the hands of the Mughal force. He was attacked by Sayyid Ahmad, the commandant of Kalinjar fort. Many Afghāns were killed. Khān-i-Jahān's son Hasan and 22 imperial elephants which the Afghāns had captured at Sironj fell into the enemy's hand.

Khān-i-Jahān escaped and traversing about 20 'kos' reached that day the pool of Sahimda, north of Kalinjar on the river Ken.¹ Foiled in his attempt to escape to a safer place and having lost his relations and friends in battle, he resolved to make his last stand there against the Mughals, commanded by Muzaffar Khān and 'Abdullah Khān. He addressed in a pathetic speech his remaining followers and asked them to make off as best as they could. A few determined to stay but many fled. He was overtaken by the advanced Mughal forces under Madhu Singh. Men who live violently, vividly and emotionally often die suddenly. Khān-i-Jahān alighted from his horse and fought desperately. In the midst of the contest Madhu Singh pierced him with a spear and before Muzaffar Khān's approach he cut Khān-i-Jahān and his dear sons 'Azīz and Ajmal Khān Tarin and Ṣadar Khān to pieces. Their heads were sent to the emperor at Burhānpūr. "The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort."² Khān-i-Jahān's head was buried in his father's grave at the order of the emperor and the following line indicates the date of this event³

که آه و ناله از افغان بر آمد

۱۰۳۰

Khān-i-Jahān's son Farīd was arrested and imprisoned. Another of his sons Jān-i-Jahān fled and took refuge in Sahendra with the mother of Bahādur Khān. He was brought to court and imprisoned. 'Ālam and Aḥmad had fled, and went after some time to the court. "But none of his sons ever prospered."⁴ 'Abdullah and Muzaffar Khān got favours and honours for their services.

1. See Blochman — 'Ain-i-Akbari, vol. I, p. 505.

2. Cf. The Padshah Nama — Elliot, vol. VII, p. 22.

3. Cf. The Ma'āthir-al-Umara, vol. I, p. 730.

4. For his other sons see Blochman's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 569. and for his family see the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī, BK., MS., No. 529, foll. 345-348b and RASB, MS., No. 101 foll. 164a-165b.

Thus ended the career of this brave Afghan soldier who had for three years strenuously defied the royal efforts to subdue him.

S. M. IMAMUDDIN.

1. Cf. *Beales' Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 151; and *Bevridge—The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. I, pp. 68, 152 and 154.
2. Cf. *Bevridge—The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, vol. II, p. 211 and the *Padshah Nama*, I, Part II., p. 349.
3. Cf. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers), vol. I, p. 89.

A HISTORY OF BAHRĀM SHĀH OF GHAZNĪN

(Continued from p. 91, 'Islamic Culture' Jan. & Apr. issue, 1949)

(13) BAHRĀM *versus* THE GHURIDES

THE Ghurides claimed their descent from the cruel Dahhāk, who was killed by Farīdūn. Their first Muslim ancestor was Shansab (hence they are called the Shansabāniya rulers) who had been converted to Islam by Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, the fourth Caliph. He occupied Ghūr¹ and his descendants ruled there uninterruptedly, till the Ghuride ruler Muḥammad b. Sūrī manifested a refractory spirit and refused allegiance to Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, who captured him and appointed his son Abū 'Alī in his place. After him his nephew (brother's son) 'Abbās b. Shīth ruled over Ghūr and revolted against Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Maḥmūd. Ibrāhīm captured him and appointed his son Muḥammad in his stead, who was later succeeded by his son Quṭbu'd-Dīn Ḥasan. His son 'Izzu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, who had been to India for trade, returned to Ghaznīn after his escape from storms. Mas'ūd III (son of Ibrāhīm) liked him very much and he made him his vassal at Ghūr. This Ḥusain² had seven sons and with them Bahrām Shāh was engaged both in peace and in wars. The eldest son was Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, who ruled over Tukhāristān (capital Bāmiyān), apparently after 511/1117/18, when Bahrām had shut himself up at the time of his brother Arslān's attack. The second son Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad became the ruler of Ghūr province (capital Firūzkoh) and was the first Ghuride to take for himself

1. From Raudatus-Ṣafā (1915, vol. IV, p. 36.) we know that Shansab had obtained a written order from Ḥaḍrat 'Alī to occupy Ghūr and that order was preserved by his dynasty till the time of Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn.

2. There is much difference of opinion about the correct name of this ruler and also about that of his son 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain. Even Professor Browne calls this ruler as Ḥasan and not Ḥusain (vide J. R. A. S. Oct. 1902, p. 852 and its note). But, in fact, both were Ḥusain :--

(a) Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, the court-poet of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, calls him Ḥusain, the son of Ḥusain, in his Maqāla II, story I.

(b) 'Alāu'd-Dīn himself gives these names in his own verses which we quote here but will discuss later.

گر غزنین را زیغ و بن بر نه کم پس من نه حسین ابن حسین حسیم
علاء الدین حسین ابن حسین که دائم باد ملک خاندانم

the title of *Maliku'l-Jibāl* or "the King of the Mountains." This prince had, according to Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr., vol. VIII, p. 1), favoured (not actually helped with forces) Arslān against his brother Bahrām. In spite of this enmity, Bahrām gave his daughter to this prince, most probably, to strengthen their mutual relations.¹

From *Firishṭa* (p. 55) and *Ṣubḥ-i-Sādiq* (Bkp. MS., vol. III, f. 1112b) we learn that Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, having made himself secure at Fīrūzkoh, desired to take Ghaznīn and when Bahrām knew of his intentions he (Bahrām) invited him there. But Ibn-Aṭhīr (vol. XI, p. 51.) says that Muḥammad b. Husain along with his staff (including his brother Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī, cf. *Firishṭa*, p. 55), came to Ghaznīn of his own accord, showing that he was coming just to pay him obeisance, but in reality desiring to capture Ghaznīn.² There is still a different version³ that Muḥammad came to Ghaznīn annoyed with his brothers and that Bahrām made him his courtier and it was then that he was married to the daughter of Bahrām. At any rate, it was only after his admittance to Bahrām's court, as several historians have recorded, that one day Muḥammad was found dead (of poison) and this was believed to have been done at the instigation of his father-in-law.

(14) FIRST CAPTURE OF GHAZNĪN BY THE GHURIDES

Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī,⁴ who had been on the personal staff of his poisoned brother, escaped from Ghaznīn and returned to Fīrūzkoh. There he collected large hosts and along with his younger brothers Bahāu'd-Dīn Sām and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain he started for Ghaznīn to avenge the death of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad. When Bahrām Shāh heard this he fled⁵ to Karmān,⁶ a place between Ghaznīn and India but in the dependency of Ghaznīn itself. So, without any encounter, they occupied the capital in Jumādā I, 543 (September, 1148).⁷ Then Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī occupied the capital under the title of "Sulṭān,"—the first Ghuride to assume such a title.

1. For these details see *Firishṭa*, pp. 54-55.

2. Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. vol. XIII, p. 2) gives the date of Muḥammad's arrival at Ghaznīn as 543/1147-48 and I think it would have been in the beginning of that year, because some months must have elapsed, after his death, for bringing fresh army from Ghūr and then capturing Ghaznīn in Jumādā I of the same year. Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 306) gives the date of his arrival as 12 years after 1135; i.e., A.D. 1147.

3. *Daulat-i-Ghaznawiya*, p. 389, ll. 6-7.

4. In the India Office MS., No. 931, Sayyid Ḥasan's verses have "Shūrī" instead of "Sūrī;" so also in Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*).

5. The writer of *Ṣubḥ-i-Sādiq* (Bkp. MS., vol. III, f. 1112b) says that Bahrām had gone to India when (in his absence) Sūrī occupied Ghaznīn.

6. The writer of *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān* (vol. IV, p. 266) says:—

«كرمان ايضا مدينة بين غزنه و بلاد الهند من اعمال غزنه بينها اربعة ايام او نحوها -»

In Elliot's History, vol. II, p. 221, the footnote reads:—

"(This) Karmān is in the Bangash country, between Kābul and Banū."

It was, however, inhabited by the Afghāns, as *Firishṭa* (p. 50) and Ibn-Aṭhīr (vol. XI, p. 62) say.

7. For these dates and details see Ibn-Aṭhīr (vol. XI, p. 51) and *Firishṭa* (pp. 50, 55) respectively.

(15) RECAPTURE OF GHAZNĪN BY BAHRĀM

When Sūrī found himself secure on the throne of Ghaznīn he sent back his younger brothers and faithful courtiers to Fīrūzkoh. He treated the people of Ghaznīn with consideration and trusted them, but they, on the other hand, did not like him in place of their own old ruler Bahrām. In this connection we shall give a summary of the statement given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty, pp. 440-445):—

When storms of snow and excessive cold set in, and the roads and passes of Ghūr were blocked by snow¹ and the people of Ghaznīn were aware that it was impossible for the troops or succour to reach Ghaznīn from the side of Ghūr, they despatched letters, secretly to Bahrām Shāh, saying, "throughout the entire city and parts around, only a handful of the forces of Ghūr remained with Sūrī, the remaining were the servants of the Maḥmūdī dynasty. It behoveth the Sultān (Bahrām) not to let the opportunity slip and he should repair to Ghaznīn with all possible haste." Bahrām Shāh, accordingly, marched from the side of India (Karmān) and unexpectedly made a night attack upon Sūrī, who, along with his vizier Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawī and a few Ghurides, fled away, till he was captured in the precincts of Sang-i-Sūrākh (the Perforated Rock—near the Helmand river), after a short encounter. After all possible insults Sūrī and his vizier were gibbeted at Pul-i-Yak Tāq (the One-Arch Bridge) and hung therefrom.

Here we quote verses from a panegyric of Sayyid Hasan, giving some very important and hitherto-unknown details about this event:—

سزد گر جبرئیل آید برین فیروزه گون منبر	کند آفاق را خطبه بنام شاه دین پرور
خداوند جهان بهرام شه آن شه کزین فتحش	دل خورشید شد روشن تن افلاک پر زیور
برائی ورؤی مسهرومه بتاج وچتر روز و شب	بلطف و قهر نیک و بد بیزم و رزم نفع و ضر
روم از مدح شاهنشہ که باقی ماند در دولت	بذکر شوری فتان که خاکش باد خاکستر
چو از خورشید جود شاه روشن گشت کاراو	زدونی غره شد یعنی که خود هستم مه انور
به خلق و خلق زشت و بد به خورد و زیست دام و دد	به اصل و ذات دون ورد به قول و فعل شور و شر
چو پیش شاه دیدندش برآمد نعره از عالم	که هه هه این چه تاریکی ست پیش نور جرم خور
شهنشہ گفت فی فی فی حو این فتنه گذشت از حد	کنم این فتنه را ساکن دهم این لے خرد را خر
بحمد الله چو طالع شد، کشیده تیغ از مشرق	سپر جمله بیفگندند نه مه ماند و نه اختر
به غزنین گرچه اندر طشت خون آمد جهان گفتش	فدا لے شاه خواهی شد چو گاو این یک دومه اے خر
فرشته کرد پنداری هزاران دیورا فرمان	که باز آمد به تخت ملک سلطان سلمان فر
که شد عالی بفرش باز قصر ملک و فرح دین	زهر دفع چشم بد فرو آویخت دو پیکر

1. This victory, as we shall know, was effected on the 12th May, 1149, when no snow was expected to have been near Ghaznīn, though it might have been towards Ghūr, because of its very high altitude.

دو پیکر گشته آویزان زعالی کنگره میدان
دوم روز محرم سال بر ث م د الحق
تعالی الله چه ساعت بود کاندشاه در کابل
چومر کز شاه در قلب و قوی بازوئے اقبالش
گل باغ جهاندارى سماء الدوله مسعود آن
مه چرخ خداوندی معزالدوله خسرو شه
در بحر شهنشاهی معین الدوله شاهنشاه
وزیر عالم عادل ، سفیر کامل مقبل
بگرد شاه فوجا فوج لشکر هائے هندستان
سپه سالار غازی شان علی بوسهل شیر اوژن
سپاه غور هم کو راست خواهی باهمه کری
روان گردند سوسه غور گوئی خصم ایشان شد
چنان رانددند جوئے خون که تا صد سال در بستان
ز مدح او و فتح او که هست آن بلبل و این گل

بران جمله که از گردون نماید برج دو پیکر
بر آمد نامور فتحی کزان گویند تا محشر
خدایش حافظ و ناصر سپهرش مخلص و یاور
به سه فرزند شایسته چو دو قطب و یکے محور
کش از آرایش مخبر بشارت می دهد منظر
که لرزان ست از گرزش عمود صبح روشنگر
که بست از گوهر پاکش عروس مملکت زیور
که بتوان یافت از هردو نشان نام پیغمبر
که گوئی ذره خورشید برجوشید از خاور
که دادش دولت سلطان تن رستم دل حیدر
چو آتش نیزه زن بودند همچون آب جوشن ور
خدا و خلق و کوه و دشت و سنگ و خار و بحر و بر
چوشاخ سرخ بید آید بگونه برگ سیمینبر
چمد طبع معزی و بنا زد جان اسکندر¹

These twenty-six verses contain the following important points :

(a) The 11th and 15th verses show that Bahrām Shāh, who had gone towards India and stayed at Karmān—a place between Kābul and Banū—came back *via* Kābul to re-occupy Ghaznīn.

(b) From the verses 21 and 22 it is evident that Bahrām Shāh had at hand the Indian armies, whose commander-in-chief was 'Alī Abū Sihl and not Husain or Ibrāhīm 'Alawī, as Ibn-Athīr (vol. XI, p. 51) and Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. vol. XIII, p. 2) say.

(c) We understand from the verses 16-19 that Bahrām Shāh was in the centre of the army and his three sons (1) Samāu'd-Daula Mas'ūd (2) Mu'izzu'd-Daula Khusrāu Shāh and (3) Mu'īnu'd-Daula Shāhīnshāh were commanding various regiments. The poet praises Khusrāu Shāh for mace-wielding (verse 18), although we know from the *Ādābu'l-Harb* (p. 34) that he was skilled in spear and arrow. His title "Mu'izzu'd-Daula" is certainly more authentic than "Mu'īnu'd-Daula" (as given in the *Ṭabaqāt*²—Raverty, p. 111, l. 15) or "Zahīru'd-Daula" (as given by *Firīshṭa*, p. 52).

(d) In the 20th verse a reference is made to Bahrām's (1) vizier and (2) ambassador, whose names, as the poet says and as we shall see later, remind him of those of the holy Prophet.

(e) If it is not an exaggeration, it is to be believed that Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī was paraded round the city of Ghaznīn on an ass, as the 8th verse

1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 72a-75a.

2. But on the same page, in line 12, it is Mu'izzu'd-Daula. Cf. *Ādābu'l-Harb*, p. 52.

shows and not on a mule, as Professor Browne says in his *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 306.

(f) From the 12th and 13th verses it is clear that the two bodies (i.e., of Sūrī and his vizier Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawī¹ were gibbeted on an arch. The same poet again refers to it in a quatrain :—

خوشنود ز بهرام روان محمود می نازد ازو به خلد جان محمود
گر گشت فگار خلق شوری چه عجب شوم است خلاف خاندان محمود

(g) The most important point is the exact date of this victory given in the 14th verse, i.e., the 2nd of Muḥarram { $\begin{matrix} \text{د} & + & \text{م} & + & \text{ث} \\ \text{ر} & + & \text{ر} & + & \text{ه} \end{matrix} \}$ ³,

A.H. 544 (Thursday, the 12th of May, 1149). This exact day and date is not found in any history known so far.⁴

When Sūrī was hanged his head was sent by Bahrām Shāh to Sulṭān Sanjar who had then been at Ray with his nephew Mas'ūd⁵ b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh (d. Rajab 1, 547/October 13, 1152). On this occasion Fakhrū'd-Dīn Khālīd of Herāt, a great Rubā'ī-writer and a friend of Sanjar composed⁶ the following quatrain :—

آنها که بخدمت نفاق آوردند سرجمله عمر خویش طاق آوردند
دور از سرتوسام پسر سام ببرد واینک سر سوری به عراق آوردند

1. Ibn-Athīr (XI, p. 51) calls him Sayyid Māhiyānī. In Muḥammad Yūsuf's *Muntakhabat-Tawārīkh* (Bkp. MS., f. 318a) he is named as Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsā and he is said to have been seated on a camel.

2. British Museum MS. No. 4514, f. 133 b.

3. Ibn-Athīr (XI, p. 51), Ibn-Khaldūn (Tr. XIII, p. 2) and the writer of *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (III, f. 1112 b) give this date as Muḥarram 544, but it is not given in any history known so far. This day, according to the calendar, is Thursday, but it might have been possibly a Friday. Sayyid Ḥasan, who gives this date was himself present at Ghaznīn on this occasion. From Lubābu'l-Albāb (II, 287) we know that he had been amongst the grandees of the court of Sūrī and when he was captured by Bahrām at this time and was to be punished by him, he improvised this quatrain :—

آنی که فلک به پیش تیغت ناید بخشش بجز از کف چومیغت ناید
زخم تو که پیل کوه پیکر نه کشد بر پشه همی زنی در یغت ناید

Bahrām then forgave and made him one of his courtiers.

4. The date of this occasion as given in the *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr* (pp. 174-175) is 543, Sha'bān (December, 1148) which must be wrong, because the poet Sayyid Ḥasan could personally witness the murder of Sūrī in 544/1149 and it was then only that Sūrī's head could be sent to Sanjar at Ray. The writer of the *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr* (pp. 175-176) further commits mistake in saying that Sanjar fought with 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ghūrī one year after the murder of Sūrī (i.e., according to him, in 544/1149), because Nizāmī 'Arūdī, who was himself present in this battle, gives its date as 547/1152 in the last stories of his 3rd and 4th Maqālas. Faṣḥī also gives this date in his *Mujmal*. See also Raverty's note on p. 348 of the *Tabaqāt*.

5. An elegy on his death was written by Sayyid Ḥasan in the form of a tarjī'-band and its "repeated verse" is :—

شاه فرشته سیرت مسعود در گذشت همچون فرشته از سر افلاک بر گذشت

The writer of *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (III, f. 1020 b.) has been mistaken in thinking that this elegy had been written by that poet on the death of Mas'ūd III of Ghaznīn.

6. India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS. II, p. 1070. It is in the *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr* (p. 175) that this quatrain has been assigned to the poet Farīd-i-Kātib, otherwise the following histories show that it belonged to Khālīd :—

Tārīkh-i-Guzīda (Habibganj); *Raudatū's-Ṣafā* (IV, p. 112); *Khulāṣatū'l-Akḥbār* (f. 218 b); *Haft-Iqlīm*, lines 16-17 of f. 247 b (of No. 724 in Ethe's Catalogue of India Office; I, p. 423).

In this quatrain "Sām" to whom allusion is made was Bahāu'd-Dīn Sām, the brother of Sūrī and the father of Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, the famous invader of India. This Bahāu'd-Dīn Sām, who started to take revenge for his "martyred" brothers Quṭbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī (apparently just on hearing the murder of the latter), died¹ of small-pox at Kīdār a place in the territory of Ghūr—on his way to Ghaznīn.

(16) SECOND CAPTURE OF GHAZNĪN BY THE GHURIDES

On the death of Bahāu'd-Dīn Sām his younger brother, Alāu'd-Dīn Husain (later known as "Jahān-Sūz" or the "Brulemonde") ascended the throne of Ghūr. He now thought of wreaking vengeance on Ghaznīn. He composed a quatrain, which runs as follows:—

اعضائے ملک جهان را بدست جوینده خصم خویش و لشکر شکست
و گرزین را زبیل و بن بر نه کم پس من نه حسین ابن حسین حسام

With a firm determination he began to collect large armies from Ghūr and Ghurjistan and made all possible preparations. When he heard of his intention, Bahrām Shāh, too, began to collect large hosts both from Ghaznīn and from India.³ At length 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain moved from Ghūr and Bahrām Shāh led his troops through the district of Garmsir by way of Rukh-khāj (Arachosia) and Tikinābād and came to Zamīn-i-Dāwar.⁴ There 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain had already reached, so Bahrām despatched envoys to him saying, "Go back to Ghūr and be content with your ancestral possessions; you have not the strength to resist my forces, because I have brought 200 war-elephants and thousands of cavalry." And 'Alāu'd-Dīn's reply was, "If you have brought elephants (fils) I have brought the kharfils (being the two warriors of Ghūr, خرفیل سام حسین the father of خرفیل حسین ناصر الدین, and another خرفیل سام بدجی); but God knows, indeed, you are in the wrong in that you have put my two brothers to death, and I have not slain any person belonging to you. But have

1. For these details see Firishṭa (p. 55) and Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt* (pp. 347-350). Raverty, in his note on p. 348, adds that Sām, having seated Sūrī on the throne of Ghaznīn, was on his way back to Ghūr when he died of inflammation of the brain (frenzy, according to some, a tumour or small-pox, according to others). I think he died in the same year when Sūrī was killed, i.e., in 544/1149, because the quatrain, just cited above, shows that Sūrī's murder was followed soon by the death of this Sām. Hence the year 545 (1150) given in the *روضة الطاهرین* (Bkp. MS., f. 163 b.) is not correct.

2. *Subḥ-i-Sādiq* (III, f. 1112 b.). In Yūsuf's *Muntakhab* (f. 318 a) the second hemistich is *ع من خود نه حسین ابن حسین حسام*. But the whole quatrain could be found in *احوال و آثار حکیم سانی* (Kabul, 1315), p. 52.

3. Although no history records that at this time Indian princes helped Bahrām, yet a verse from a poem by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ghūrī on his subsequent victory says so, but I think the Indian forces, at least, were with Bahrām. The verse is: *پشتی خصم گرچه همه را نه و رانا بود / کردم به گرز خرد سر را نه و رانا را*.

4. Elliot's history, vol. II, Garmsir—a narrow tract of country in Sistān along the lower course of the Hindmand (Helmand) Rukhkhaj—a dependency of Sistān, situated on the Helmand (p. 578). (Raverty says on p. 350 n. that it is a small tract of country in the district of Bust). Tikinābād is a large city of Garmsir, between Ghaznīn and Ghūr (p. 578), and Dāwar is on the right bank of the Helmand, 40 to 50 miles to its west (p. 576). *Firishṭa* (page 55, l. 18) says that Dāwar is in the precincts of Ghūr and a dependency of Qandhār.

you not heard, what the Almighty God says (Qur'ān, Banī Isrā'īl, 33) ?
 ومن قتل مظلوماً فقد جعلنا لوليه سلطاناً فلا يسرف في القتل انه كان منصوراً :

"And if any one is slain wrongfully, We have given his heir authority (to demand qisās or to forgive); but let him not exceed the bounds in the matter of taking life; (for) he is helped."

When the envoys returned, both the armies prepared for battle. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain called unto him the two phalawāns (the above-mentioned *kharfils*), who were famous in *Ghūr* for their extraordinary valour and prowess, and said to them:—"Bahrām Shāh had sent a message, saying that he would bring elephants against us and I have replied that if he brought elephants (*fil*s) I would bring the *kharfils*. This day you must each knock down an elephant." They both kissed the ground and retired to their posts; and, at a place *Korāh-bāz*, the two armies were drawn up. When the battle began, both these warriors dismounted, fastened up the skirts of their coats-of-mail, and entered the fight. When the elephants of Bahrām Shāh made a charge, each of the warriors attacked an elephant; and creeping under the armour of the animals, ripped open their bellies with knives. *Kharfīl-Sām-Banjī* remained under his elephant, who rolled upon him, till both perished together. *Kharfīl-Sām-Husain* knocked down his elephant to the ground, extricated himself and mounted his horse again.

When 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain had put on the armour and was ready for the fight, he sent for a surcoat of red satin, which he put over his armour. When he was asked why he did so, he said that it was to prevent his men seeing his blood and thus feeling discouraged in the event of his being wounded.

It was the practice in the armies of *Ghūr* for the infantry to protect themselves in battle with a covering, called 'Karoh,' made of a rawhide, covered thickly on both sides with wool or cotton. This defensive covering used by the *Ghurides* in this battle, protected them like a wall, as no weapon could pierce it.

After the battle had begun, Daulat Shāh, the eldest son of Bahrām Shāh, with a body of cavalry and an elephant charged the centre. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain instructed his foot-soldiers to open their rank of 'Karohs,' till Daulat Shāh and his retinue were surrounded on all sides and were all slain. When this great warrior of the age, as the writer of *Subh-i-Ṣādiq* (III, f. 1113 a) calls him, was killed, the army of Bahrām Shāh fell into disorder and gave way. Even Bahrām Shāh could not withstand this great shock and failed to keep his ground. 'Alāu'd-Dīn then pursued from stage to stage, as far as a place known as *Jōsh-i-Āb-a Garm*¹ (the jet of hot water), near *Tikīnābād*, where Bahrām Shāh collected his forces and for a second time gave battle, but was defeated

1. Cf. Daulat Shāh's biography (Browne's edition, p. 75), recording درکنار آب باران, cf. also *Enc. Britannica* (XI, ed. XI, p. 918), which says that the battle was fought "on the bank of the Helmand," referring to the first encounter.

and put to flight, and only stopped at the gate of Ghaznīn. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain followed him in fierce pursuit and at Ghaznīn, Bahrām Shāh was defeated for the third time. This defeat, at last, totally shattered the strength of Bahrām Shāh, who had then no alternative but to get back to India.

PLUNDER OF GHAZNĪN

The writer of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* further adds that 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain then burnt the whole city of Ghaznīn, for seven days,¹ and from the blackness of the smoke all these days appeared as black as night; and from the flames raging in the burning city, lights appeared bright like the day. Plunder and massacre went on, till all the men that were found were killed, and the women and children were made captives. He then ordered that the remains of the Maḥmūdī Sultāns should be taken out of their graves and burnt, except those of Sultān Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, the court-poet of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain, also refers (second Maqāla, first Story) to the fact, though with a slight difference :—

” * * * و خداوند عالم علاء الدین ابو علی الحسین بن الحسین اختیار امیر المومنین، که زندگانش در از باد و چتر دولتش منصور، به کین خواستن آن دو ملک شهریار شهید و ملک حمید به غزنین رفت و سلطان بهرام شاه از پیش او برفت² بر دزد آن دو شهید که استخفافها کرده بودند و گزافها گفته، شهر غزنین را غارت فرمود و عمارات محمودی و مسعودی و ابراهیمی خراب کرد * * ”

On the eighth night (preceding the day) when the city was entirely desolated and burnt to ashes its inhabitants were massacred. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain improvised the following verses in his own praise, which he gave to the minstrels to set to music and sing before him :—

جهان داند که من شاه جهانم	چراغ	دوده	عباسیانم
علاء الدین حسین ابن حسینم	که	دایم	باد ملک خاندانم
چو برگلگون دولت بر نشینم	یکے	باشد	زمین و اسانم
امل مقرر زن گرد سپاهم	اجل	بازی	گر نوک سنانم
همه عالم بگردم چون سکندر	به	هر شهرے	شہے دیگر نشانم
بر آن بودم که از او باش غزنین	چو	رود نیل	جوے خون روانم

1. The writers of *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (III, f. 1113a), *Nigāristān* (Bkp. MS., p. 234), etc., say that this plunder and devastation continued for seven days and nights incessantly, but Ibn-Athīr (XI, p. 62, as followed by Browne also in his vol. II, p. 306) records three days only.

2. Prof. Browne's statement (vol. II, p. 306) that Bahrām Shāh had, by this time, died three years back, is not correct, in view of the fact that a court-poet cannot forget such an important event of his patron's career.

ولیکن گنده پیراند و طفلان شفاعت می کند بخت جوانم
 ببخشیدم بدیشان جان ایشان که بادا جان شان پیوند جام¹

In the second hemistich the Brulemonde refers to his direct descent from 'Abbās (the fourth ancestor), whose uncle Abū 'Alī (and not father) had the proud recognition by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī in the vassalage of Ghūr. The sixth and seventh verses show that he ('Alāu'd-Dīn) wanted to start a river of blood by killing the 'wicked people' of Ghaznīn, but as they were 'as timid as old women and children' he pardoned them. This shows that the historians, who have narrated the seven days' conflagration of Ghaznīn and the wholesale massacre of its people, have greatly exaggerated if not told a lie. The last hemistich, very beautifully, hints at 'Alāu'd-Dīn's soft heart, which had been cruel merely at the brutal murders of his two elder brothers.

After the recitation of the above verses 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain said, "I have now spared the remaining people of Ghaznīn," and he left the company and took a hot-bath. On the morning of the eighth day he led the nobles and the troops of Ghūr to the graves of his two "martyred" brothers, where he put on garments of mourning, together with his whole army, and he remained there seven nights and days, observing funeral ceremonies, making offerings, saying requiem and having the holy Qur'ān recited. He then had the coffins of his brothers placed on biers, and marched with them from Ghaznīn towards Dāwar and Bust. On reaching Bust he ordered destruction of the places and other edifices of the Maḥmūdī kings,² "which had no equal in the world," and thus devastated all the territory belonging to that great dynasty. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī (second Maqāla, first Story) also says:—

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد که از رفعت همی بامه مرا کرد
 نه بینی زان همه یک خشت برپائے مدیج عنصری مانده ست بر جاے

In spite of such destruction of Maḥmūdī edifices, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain is reported to have bought with gold the poems³ written in praise of Maḥmūd and of his dynasty and he would himself read that passage of *Shāhnāma* (Cf. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, *ibid.*), which is as follows:—

چو کودك لب از شیر مادر بشت ز گهواره محمود گوید نخست
 به تن زنده پیل وبه جان جبرئیل به کف ابر بهمن به دل رود نیل
 جهان دار محمود شاه بزرگ به آبش خور آرد همی میش و گرگ

1. With slight variants these verses are found in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Bkp. MS., f. 189 b); *Yūsuf's Muntakhab* (Bkp., f. 318a); *Lubāb*, I, 38-39; etc.

2. Remnants of some edifices still exist in Ghaznīn, and Mas'ūd III's pillar deserves note.

3. In spite of his love for literature a great treasure of books was burnt on this occasion, as we find in *Ibn-Athīr* (Browne, II 107 n):—

"When 'Alā'ud Dawla bin Kākūya, the Buwayhid prince of Isfahān was defeated by the troops of Ghazna, in 425/1033, Avicenna's books were carried off by them as part of their plunder, and were placed in one of the libraries of Ghazna, where they remained, until they were destroyed by fire in the sack of that city by Ḥusain, the Jahān-Sūz." From Baihaqī's *Tatīmna* (Persian, Lahore 1939, p. 45) we know that one book of Avicenna was preserved in the library of Mas'ūd I at Ghaznīn, but was later burnt to ashes by the Ghuzz army in A.H. 546 at the instigation of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain of Ghūr.

He ordered several 'Sayyids' of Ghaznīn to be seized, according to the law of qisās (retaliation), at the place of Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawī, who was Sūrī's vizier and was hung on one of the arches of Ghaznīn along with Sūrī. They were brought before the Sultān. Bags were filled with the earth of Ghaznīn, and placed upon the backs of the 'Sayyids,' who were then sent to the capital Fīrūzkoh and were slain. Their blood was mixed with that earth which they had brought, and of the mortar, which was thus formed, several towers were erected on the hills of Fīrūzkoh.

After 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain had wreaked such a terrible vengeance and returned to the capital of Ghūr, he improvised the following lines and gave them to the minstrels to sing them on their harps and violins :—

آنم که هست فخر ز عدلم زمانه را	آنم که هست چون زربدلم زیانه را
آنگشت دست خویش به دندان کندعدو	چون بر زه کمان نهم انگشترانه را
چون گرد خانه خانه مکیم میان صف	دشمن زگوئے باز بدانست خانه را
بهرام شه به کینه من چون کمان کشید	کندم به کینه از کمر او کتانه را
پشتی خصم اگر چه عمه راے و رانا بود	کردم به گرز خرد سر راے و رانا را
کین توختن به تیغ در آموخته کنون	شاهان روزگار و ملوک زمانه را
اے مطرب بدیع چو فارغ شدم ز جنگ	برگوئے قول را و بیار آں ترانه را
دولت چو بر کشید نشاید فرو گذاشت	قول مغنی و مے صافی مغانه را

From the above lines the following points are gathered :—

(a) The seventh verse shows that this poem was composed after the battle was over.

(b) The fourth verse clearly says that this battle was fought against Bahrām Shāh and not against his son Khusrau Shāh as several writers have stated, e.g., Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 306), *Hadīqatu's-Şafā* (Bkp. MS., f. 229b.), *Tārīkh-i-Şadr-i-Jahān* (Bkp., MS., f. 281n.) *Tārīkh-i-Abu'l-Khair Khānī* (Bkp. MS., f. 115n.), *Mir'atu'l-'Ālam* (Bkp. MS., f. 109n.) etc., etc.

(c) Although no history records that the Indian princes (rānās) themselves came to the help of Bahrām Shāh, yet the fifth verse suggests it and there is no doubt that at least the Indian forces were with him.

We now summarise here, from the *Ādābu'l-Harb*, some facts and after-effects, relating to this war :—

When 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Ghūrī marched towards Ghaznīn and Bahrām Shāh fled towards India (taking all the nobles and grandees of his court with him), the former put to death over sixty thousand Muslims, men and women, by different kinds of tortures, such as flagellation, wounding, burning and placing on the rack. He took away, from them,

1. For the accounts of the second recapture of Ghaznīn right up to this point I have followed *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Bkp. MS., ff. 187b-190a), Raverty (pp. 350-356), Elliot (vol. II, p. 286-289), *Şubh-i-Sādiq* (vol. III, ff. 1112b-1113b), Yūsu'f's *Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh* (f. 3198a b), etc.,

The last verse of the poem, above cited, seems to belong to some other poet or poem.

whatever they possessed, so that they all became destitute. Matters came to such a pass that all those who used to wear brocade before, now began to wear felt and skins. Eventually, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain went back to Ghūr, leaving behind, at Ghaznīn, an army-commander Amīr Khān, a very cruel man, with five thousand horse. He had been instructed to burn and devastate the whole city of Ghaznīn to such an extent that a passer-by could note merely some signs of its probable existence in some remote times.

This Amīr Khān invited all the imāms, judges and notables of the city and communicated to them the orders of the king, and told them to take their wives and children out of the city.

"There is no one in the city," they said, "who has a complete suit of clothes. All the women and children are entirely deprived of clothes and have not got even footwear. If they spend a night out of their homes, they are sure to freeze to death." They then requested him to give them one week in order to get some necessary provisions for the same, but he granted them only *three days'* time. In such utter helplessness they proceeded, one morning, to a miracle-working saint, namely, Khwāja Abu'l-Muyyad and told him all about their miseries.

This holy man had a pupil called Imām Aḥmad Khayyāt (the tailor) whom he said, "Go under yonder mulberry tree and bring a new potsherd and a piece of charcoal." The pupil did accordingly, then the Khwāja made a mark on that potsherd with the charcoal, the meaning of which he alone knew. He then said to the pupil, "I want you to set out at once for Gardīz (a town in the Ghaznīn territory) to the tomb of the Shaikh 'l-Islām Qashūr (?). But you must make ablutions first, then pray two 'rak'ats, and entering the mausoleum, visit the tomb, and after conveying my greetings hold this potsherd towards the tomb. Then wait and see." The pupil started, and on account of his miraculous intervention God so shortened the rough road, nine leagues long, *covered with deadly snow* that he reached Gardīz, *in the short winter days*, between the time of two prayers. He then did as was desired by the spiritual master, and to his astonishment he saw that the Shaikh 'l-Islām Qashūr (?) came out of his grave and said to him, "On you also be peace and mercy of God! Give my greetings to the Khwāja Abu'l-Muyyad and tell him that the wickedness of these tyrants has been averted and the people have been set free from their trouble. God has heard the lamentations of the Muslims." Saying this he went back into his grave, which closed over him as before.

When the pupil saw all this, he swooned and lost all consciousness, and remained in that state till the time of the evening prayer. After a while he came to his senses, but set out for Ghaznīn only on the next day and reached there at the time of the afternoon prayer. He related to the Khwāja Abu'l-Muyyad all that had happened, and the latter thanked God.

After a while the noise of the beatings of the drums was heard by the citizens, who went upon the roofs of their houses to see what the

matter was. They saw that the whole plain, round about, was full of horsemen, flags and different kinds of ornamented cloth. They were surprised at what they saw. The tyrant Amīr Khān (the commander of the Ghuride army at Ghaznīn) was so much terrified that he rode on his horse bare-footed and his men left their tents, baggage, furniture and cauldrons as they were, and fled in such haste that no one knew where they had gone. It was only on the following day that the citizens came to know of their flight.¹

Now we come to the accounts of Bahrām Shāh after his defeat at and subsequent flight from Ghaznīn. Daulat Shāh, in his biography (Browne's edition, pp. 75-76), narrates an interesting story in connection with Bahrām Shāh's defeat :—

In spite of having had two hundred war-elephants when Bahrām Shāh was defeated on the bank of Āb-i-Bārān (on the Helmand ?) by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain, he fled to the ruins of a village in order to pass that night of *severe cold*. There he found a villager, of whom he asked for some food. The villager brought a few pieces of unleavened bread and some بوده (mint or some bird ?). After having taken this scanty food the Sultān asked him to supply him with some bedding, then he said, "O (brave) man, I have nothing but a housing. If you allow me I shall put it over you." The Sultān exclaimed, "Why did you, wretch, tell me its name ? Now, make haste and put it over me."² The villager, from the appearance of the Sultān, could understand who he was. So the next morning he asked him to let him know whether he was the king. When he replied in the affirmative, the man wept bitterly and kissed the ground before the Sultān, saying, "O Lord of the people of the world, how was it that Your Majesty was defeated by the ill-born Ghuride ('Alāu'd-Dīn Husain), in spite of the fact that you had great awe, strength, brave army and war-elephants ?" The Sultān then asked the villager to hold up his spade, which he shot

1. Up to this sentence I have followed the Ādābū'l-Harb (pp. 48-51) and particularly its English translation in the *Islamic Culture*, April 1938, pp. 227-229.

2. This story has been assigned by Daulat Shāh to the time (543/1148) when Bahrām Shāh first fled to India by the combined forces of Sūri and his brother 'Alāu'd-Dīn and when subsequently Sūri sat on the throne of Ghaznīn. But I think this story refers to the time of this second war, which was fought by 'Alāu'd-Dīn in revenge of his second brother Sūri's murder as well. The reasons are :—(a) The two hundred war-elephants, as mentioned above, were with Bahrām Shāh, only at the time of the second attack by the Ghurides. (b) No actual battle is reported to have been fought when Sūri advanced from Ghūr in 543/1148, hence the war, referred to in the above story, would belong to the second capture of Ghaznīn in revenge of Sūri's murder. (c) This story shows that when Bahrām fled to India, 'Alāu'd-Dīn plundered Ghaznīn and gave it to his brother Sūri. The actual words of Daulat Shāh are :—

و علام الدین غزنین را بعد از آن که قتل و غارت کرده بود به برادر داد — But history shows that when Sūri was enthroned at Ghaznīn the city was not plundered then. Hence this story would relate to the second capture. (d) Daulat Shāh records that it was the time of *severe cold* when Bahrām sought the help of that villager. The first capture of Ghaznīn was, as we have seen above, effected in Jumādā I, 543/September, 1148, and not at the time of *severe cold*, while the second capture was really in the season of extreme cold, as we have seen in the Ādābū'l-Harb as well. Hence this story should relate to the second capture.

with his royal arrow so forcefully that even its tail-end passed through it and struck the ground. Then he smiled and said to the villager, زخم این است اما بخت دوگردان است (such is my blow but luck is wanting). The Sultān then fled towards India and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain plundered the city of Ghaznīn.

(18) THE DATE OF THE PLUNDER OF GHAZNĪN

There are many controversial points about (a) the date of the above battle and also about (b) the Ghaznawide ruler with whom 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain had fought. Even Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 306), who had probably followed Ibn-Athīr (XI, 62) says that this "terrible retribution was exacted by Alaud-Dīn Husain in A.D. 1155 (A.H. 550), *three years after Bahram Shah had died* and been succeeded by his son Khusrau Shah." Like him there are several other historians and biographers as well, who say that Bahrām Shāh had died by that time, but we do not want to mention them unnecessarily, in view of the fact that Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, the court-poet of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain (note 2, p. 8,), and even the latter (note 1, p. 10) have clearly said that it was Bahrām Shāh himself with whom the second engagement had been undertaken. So, we come to the second point, i.e., the date of this plunder. Professor Browne gives its date as A.D. 1155 (A.H. 550), but it is wrong, because:—

From *Rāḥatu's-Ṣudūr* (p. 176) we understand that 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain, after he had wreaked vengeance at Ghaznīn, marched against Sanjar to take revenge from him as well, probably because he had directly or indirectly helped (if not so, then at least favoured) Bahrām Shāh for the cruel murder of Sūrī, whose head was subsequently sent to Sanjar's court. 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain was joined by his brother's son Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad² b. Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Izzu'd-Dīn Husain, the Bāmiyānī ruler (died after 586/1190), and 'Alī Chatrī, who had been raised by Sanjar from the post of a court-jester to be his chamberlain and been given lands in fiefhold about Herat. Sanjar also marched and the battle³ was fought at Awba, a place near Herat. 'Alāu'd-Dīn was

1. Similar words are said to have been uttered by Mas'ūd I (d. 440/1048), the great-grandfather of Bahrām, on his desperate attack on the rushing army of Tughril (d. 455/1063). See the *Rāḥatu's-Ṣudūr* or its summary in J. R. A. S., July, 1902, p. 591.

2. The detailed accounts of this prince and his father may be found in the *Ṭabaqāt* (Raverty, pp. 422-428). For his joining war see the *Chahār Maqāla* last story of the third Discourse and *Mujmal-i-Faṣṣḥā* (Bkp. MS., 166 b). The actual words in the original copy of the *Rāḥatu's-Ṣudūr* were—
ملک غورالحسین بن الحسین خروج کرد بکین توختن برادر زاده و علی چتری که امیر حاجب سلطان بود

Dr. M. Iqbāl, in his edition (p. 176) has dropped زاده after برادر, but I think it would be more desirable if we add با before برادر زاده of the original copy.

3. For the details of this battle see the *Ṭabaqāt*, (Raverty, pp. 358-3 60).

taken captive and released just before¹ Sanjar's fight with the Ghuzz Turks by 548/1153; Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad was released on paying 50,000 dinars; but 'Alī Chatrī, being an unfaithful servant of Sanjar, was sawn into two under the royal standard.² The date of this defeat, as is inferred from the *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr* (p. 176), was 544/1149, but this must be wrong, because Nizāmī 'Arūdī, who was himself present in that war, gives its date (*vide* the last stories of his third and fourth *Maqālas*) as 547/1152. Hence the plunder of Ghaznīn, which had been prior to this defeat, must have occurred before that date.

From the *Raudatu't-Tāhirīn* (Bkp. MS., f. 163 a) we know that this plunder took place in 545/1150, i.e., one year after the cruel murder of Sūrī. So, in order to fix its most probable time in that year we have to consider some points here.

Ibn-Athīr (XI, 57) says that it was in this year (545/1150) that 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain was busy leading a campaign against Herat in order to crush a rebellion there and to restore it again to the suzerainty of Sanjar. This means that up to that time the Ghurides, who owed

1. The anecdote related in the *Tabaqāt* (Raverty, p. 361), *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (vol. III, f. 1114), etc. clearly shows that 'Alāu'd-Dīn was released just before Sanjar's fight with the Ghuzz Turks. *Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī* (Bkp., f. 166 b-167a) contains another incident that when 'Alāu'd-Dīn improvised these lines before Sanjar ---

با آن که بدم کشتی از روی یقین	بگرفت و نکشت شه مرا در صف کین
بخشایش و بخششم چنان کرد و چنین	وان که بطبق می دهم در نمین

Anwarī composed this quatrain :

با ملک چون آب و دولتی چون آتش	چون بند گنی شهت نمی آید خوش
وان جاعلف و گلخن دوزخ می کش	برخیز و بسیج آن جهان کن خوش خوش

'Alāu'd-Dīn was much annoyed, so when Sanjar had died he invited Anwarī to his court through the latter's friend Fakhrū'd-Dīn Khālīd, who wrote also a separate letter to Anwarī, containing these verses :—

نیک و بد زمانه عیار دیده	ای آن که در هنر به همه جا رسیده
دائم که نیم بیت دگر راشنیده	اصلت ز قاین ست و نشست به کوشک

Browne (vol. II, p. 381) records that he had sent three Arabic verses. Anwarī, however, understood that it was unwise for him to go to 'Alāu'd-Dīn, whom he then sent a fragment beginning with :

جای آرام و خورد و خواب من ست	کلبه کاندرو بروزو بشب
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The last verses are as follows :—

جامه و جامے من جواب من ست	نیست من بنده را زبان جواب
نه بیازوے خاک و آب من ست	حضرت پادشه که باقی ماند
چه کم این خطا صواب من است	گرچه این لفظ از من ست خطا

The last two verses are not in the *Kulliyāt-i-Anwarī* (Lucknow ed., 1880, pp. 593-594). For Anwarī see Prof. Sherānī's essay in "Urdu" (Oct. 1923) and also mine in the "Ma'ārif" (Oct. 1942 Nov. 1942).

2. For these details see *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr* (p. 176), *Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī* (f. 166a-b), etc. Ibn Athīr (XI, 66) says that Sanjar was defeated by the Ghuzz Turks in Muḥarram, 548 (April, 1153), and it should be the beginning of that year, as is inferred from a contemporary record quoted by Barthold in his "Turkistan," (p. 329 n.).

allegiance to Sanjar,¹ never intended to stand before him, although, only a year ago, Sūrī's head had the misfortune of being sent to his court in utter disgrace. So, if the above historians are correct, then we are compelled to believe that (a) the campaign against Herat would have taken place in the beginning of A.H. 545 (or the middle of A.D. 1150), (b) after which (i.e., by the end of the same year) 'Alāu'd-Dīn could plunder Ghaznīn and (c) that plunder was followed by the season of *severe cold* (in the beginning of A.D. 1151), as we have seen in the *Ādābu'l Harb* and Daulat Shāh's biography.²

(19) BAHRĀM SHĀH'S SECOND FLIGHT FROM AND RECAPTURE OF GHAZNĪN

We have already seen that Bahrām Shāh had, after the above-mentioned defeat, no other recourse but to flee to India. Even if the anecdote relating to the miracle of the saint Shaikhū'l-Islām Qashūr, as narrated above, shows that Amīr Khān, the commander of the Ghuride troops at Ghaznīn, left that city shortly after its capture and devastation, still we have no record to show that Bahrām Shāh reoccupied it soon after his flight. From the following verses of the poet Sayyid Hasan we understand that for full one year (546/1151) at least Bahrām Shāh had no courage to come back to Ghaznīn (from India) and that he reoccupied it only after that year, i.e., in 547/1152 when 'Alāu'd-Dīn, as, Nizāmī 'Arūḍī says, fought against Sanjar³ and was subsequently captured:—

آخر دلم به آرزوے خویشتن رسید	و آنچه از خدای خواسته بودم به من رسید
آن مه که کرد طوفی سوئے شرف شتافت	وان گل که رفت سالے نزد چمن رسید
دل رفته بود جان شده منت خدای را	کان دل بسینه آمد و دل جان به تن رسید
خوش خوش کشاده بلبل مرده چو گل دهن	کان طوطی شکر لب و شیرین سخن رسید
ماهی که از نهاد کمند زره ورش	باطبع آفتاب شکن در شکن رسید

1. From the *Tabaqāt* (Raverty, p. 358 and n 2) we learn that the Sultāns of Ghūr used to pay homage to Sanjar every year in the form of arms, armour, rarities, offerings, etc.; and it was only 'Alāu'd-Dīn who withheld the homage subsequent to the plunder of Ghaznīn.

2. The actual words of the *Ādābu'l Harb* (pp. 50, 48, respectively), regarding *severe cold*, are as follows:—

زمین درشت پربرف کشنده در روز های زمستان (ص ۵۰) اگر یک شب از خانه بیرون روند
جمله از سرما قصر زنند و بمیرند (ص ۴۸)

Daulat Shāh (Browne ed., p. 75) says:—

بهرام شاه با او (علاءالدین) در کنار آب باران مصاف داد - با وجود آن که دویست فیل جنگی داشت
مهمزم شد و شب از شدت سرما پناه بخوابه برد -

3. It was probably on this victory of Sanjar that Anwarī composed the following quatrain:—

آخر غم غور از دل ما دور شود	وین ماتم هجر دوستان سور شود
لشکر کش گردون چو در آید بجم	فرمان ده کیتی به نشاپور شود

بر شادی رسیدن شاه که بردلش از جان ندایم اذهب عنا الحزن رسید
 بهرام شاه شاه که در ملک او رساد آنها کزو به بنده مسکین حسن رسید¹

These verses (particularly Nos. 2, 6, and 7) convey the idea that Bahrām Shāh, who had been out (of Ghaznīn) *for about a year*, has come back and is now free from the grief and fear (caused by the Ghurides). This period of his absence from Ghaznīn is not recorded in history. We simply imagine that throughout that period (546/1151) Ghaznīn was under the sway of the Ghurides and that it was only on 'Alāu'd-Dīn's fight with Sarjar, for which the former must have prepared himself in the meanwhile, that Bahrām Shāh could get an opportunity to proceed from India and resume his reign at Ghaznīn in 547/1152.

(20) BAHRAM SHAH'S DEATH

There is a difference of opinion with regard to the date of Bahrām's death. The writers of تاریخ صدر جهان (f. 281 b), جنات الفردوس (f. 64 a.), (Yūsuf's) منتخب التواریخ (f. 317 b), روضه الماهرین (f. 163 a), تاریخ گزیده، لب التواریخ etc., give the date as 544/1149, but this date is absolutely wrong, because we have already seen above that Bahrām Shāh was alive at least up to 547/1152. Its further proof we can find in the Preface of *Hadīqa*, written by Sarā'ī's devotee and pupil Muḥammad b. 'Alī ar-Raqqā.² In that preface the writer says

*** آن چه (سنائی) گفته بود قریب ده هزار بیت، مسوده اصل به بغداد فرستاد
 بنزدیک خواجه امام برهان الدین علی رحمته الله علیه و آن چه بدست او بماند چند نسخت
 بداد - آن عزیز نفس بشکست و ازین عالم تنگ بر پرید و بروضه رضوان خرامید - نور الله

From this passage it is clear that this preface was written *after the death of* Imām Burhānu'd-Dīn Abu'l Ḥasan Alī b. Nāsir Ghaznawī, whom Sarā'ī had sent his *Hadīqa* at Baghdād, with a versified letter at the end of it. In that preface, we find some passages about Bahrām Shāh as well:—

یمین الدوله امین الملت شاهنشاه بهرام شاه خلد الله ملکه *** و چون
 از دیوان اعلی شاهنشاهی معظمی مثال فرمودند من خادم این ده هزار بیت منتخب (؟) نمودم
 از بهر بارگاه اعلی شاهنشاهی اعز الله انصاره —

1. India Office MS., No. 931, f. 158a-b. From the second verse of this panegyric it is evident that Bahrām Shāh had been out of Ghaznīn at least *for one year*. Throughout the long reign of Bahrām we never find that he had to go out *for one year* at least. Even when Sūri had marched against Ghaznīn and occupied it in Jumādā I, 543 (September, 1148), Bahrām was out only for about *seven months*, (and not for one year), because, as we know, he reoccupied the capital after killing Sūri on the 2nd of Muḥarram, 544 (12th May, 1149). Hence, that interval of *seven months* cannot be extended to one year by a poet, praising his patron. On the other, he might have cut it short and counted it only as *one year* when his patron had been out in 545/1150 for a year or more.

2. Raqqā's Preface is also in the Bombay ed. of *Hadīqa*. In the Bodleian Catalogue (p. 463) and Br. Museum Catalogue (III, 550 b) his name is Raffā and Raqqām respectively.

Therein the expressions *خدا الله ملكه* (may God ever keep his kingdom!) and *اعز الله انصاره* (may God give predominance to his helpers!) clearly show that Bahrām Shāh was alive when that preface was written, because those expressions could be used only for a living ruler. So, if we find out the date of that preface (which was surely written as shown above, after the death of the Imām Burhānu'd-Dīn) we can know that at least up to that year Bahrām Shāh was alive. In praise of Burhānu'd-Dīn Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir Ghaznawī we find two panegyrics by the poet Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī. One of them, which he had probably sent from Ghaznīn, contains these verses:—

توئی که خامه زدست تومی گسار شود	امام عالم برهان دین لسان الحق
همی بجائے دگر جز به اضطرار شود	کمان مبر که ز صدر تو خادم داعی
خزان کنند بتدریج نو بهار شود	بدان خدای که درگاه گاه قدرت او
وگر بگویم ترسم که روزگار شود	که روزگار به اعزازم از تو دور انداخت
که هر چه هست چو بسیار گشت خوار شود	عزیز دولت و دین گشت تا مگر دانی
برای چوین درهای آبدار شود	تو بحر علمی و غواص چون شود به تو بحر
چواهل دریا باشد که زرد و زار شود	چو در نیافت اگر بیشتر مقام کند
چو پیش خدمت آن شاه تاج دار شود	تو آفتابی و سیاره محترق گردد
به وصل گاه جدائی امیدوار شود	دل از جدائی بر حال وصل می ترسد
ز طبع جلوه گرم خوب چون نگار شود	اگر خدای بخواهد عروس دولت تو
و قافے باز نه پرواز را شکار شود ¹	منم که باز هایون آشیان توام

And here are some of the verses, which he appears to have written at Baghdād itself:—

دین گواهی پیش یزدان روز محشر می دهد	ای که یزدان پادشاهت کرد بر ملک علوم
نیمه لے مایگی هم سنگ آن زرمی دهد	خاک پایت گربدست آید سزای توتیا
قصه حاجت بتاویل تناور می دهد	حاش لله من نیم آن مرد هرجائی ز حرص
گفته ام شعرے ولیکن یک بیک بر می دهد	من درین غربت که اورا عذر جز تحصیل نیست
وین شوم انصاف فرمان بوسه در می دهد	پارسی و تازی و سلطان برهان را دهش
زان که از شاخ درخت فضل او بر می دهد	بنگرو برخوان و چون اصلاح کردی عرضه کن
ور بدو قانع بود شکرانه بر سر می دهد	صدر دین گر نه طمع دارد غرامت می کشم

In a tarji'-band, by the same poet, in praise of Sultān Malik Shāh (b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh), who ruled for about four months from Rajab, A.H. 547 (October, A.D. 1152), to Shawwāl of

1. British Museum MS., Or. 4514, ff. 130 a-b.

2. Ibid, f. 130 b.

the same year (January, A.D. 1153), we find a reference to the same Imām Burhānu'd-Dīn. It begins thus:—

صبح ملک از مشرق اقبال سر بر می زند نور خورشیدش علم بر چرخ اخضر می زند

And the reference therein is:—

بر در بغداد گفتم (گفت مرا) خواجه برهان دین کای ملک تا پنج مه سلطان شوی اینک شدی¹

From this verse it is clear that Khwāja (Imām) Burhānu'd-Dīn was alive at least five months before Rajab, A.H. 547 (October, A.D. 1152). So, even if he died thereafter, the date of his death would not have been earlier than the middle of A.H. 547 or the end of A.D. 1152. This eventually means that the Preface of *Hadiqa*, wherein that Imām is said to have died, was written after the said date. This further means that Bahrām Shāh, who appears in that Preface to be then living, did not at least die till the year 547/1152. Hence those histories, which record his death by or before that year, had no authenticity in this respect.

Ibn-Athīr,² one of the best historians, records the death of Bahrām Shāh, after a reign of 36 years, in Rajab, A.H. 548 (September-October, A.D. 1153). But from Major Raverty's note on page 114 in his English translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* we know that the inscriptions, on a coin of Khusrāu Shāh (the son and successor of Bahrām Shāh), as translated by him, are:—

Obverse. ³ "Stamped coin in, the universe, with magnificence and grandeur, the great Bādshāh Khusrāu Shāh."

Reverse. "Struck in the city of Lahore, A.H. 552, the first of his reign."

If, at all, Major Raverty's reading of the coin is correct, then certainly the writer of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* is correct in saying that Bahrām Shāh died after a rule of 41 years from A.H. 511, i.e., in 552/1157 and I think in the beginning of that year, because from *Ādābu'l-Harb* (p. 56, ll. 11-12) we know that it was the time of summer (i.e., the middle of that year) when 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain once again invaded Ghaznīn. This time he marched against Khusrāu Shāh and not against his father Bahrām Shāh, as the following quatrain shows:—

اول پدرت نهاد کین را بنیاد تا خلق جهان جمله به بیداد افتاد
هان تانه دهی ز بهر یک تکنا باد سر تا سر ملک آل محمود بباد

1. In the *Rāḥatū's-Sudūr* it begins from p. 251, but Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl could not opine for the identification of the name of this Burhānu'd-Dīn. I further think that it is this Imām of Ghaznīn who has been referred also on pages 18 and 30 of the same book. Such religious doctors, as it appears from those pages, held posts of great political authority as well, and were so much esteemed both by the kings and by the public that they were indispensable to the state.

2. Vol. XI, p. 71.

3. The titles of Khusrāu Shāh as inscribed on his coins and as noted by Elliot (vol. II, p. 483) are:—

السلطان الاعظم معزالدوله

This quatrain, as *Firīshṭa* (p. 52) and *Faṣīhī* (f. 162 a) say, was composed by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain and sent to *Khusrau Shāh* when the latter refused to give *Tikn-ābād* (or *Tikinābād*) to the former's nephew *Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad*, the son of *Bahāu'd-Dīn Sām*. This was then followed by 'Alāu'd-Dīn's invasion of *Ghaznīn*, when *Khusrau Shāh* fled to Lahore, where he ruled till his death in 555/1160.¹

So, from the above facts we understand that (a) *Bahrām Shāh* died in the beginning of 552/1157, (b) 'Alāu'd-Dīn invaded *Ghaznīn* once again in the middle of that year and (c) he (the latter) would have passed away by the end of the same year and not earlier than that as some historians record.

(21) BAHRĀM SHĀH'S LOVE FOR LITERATURE

Bahrām Shāh had inherited, from his great-great-grandfather *Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī*, a great love for literature. During his long reign of forty-one years he experienced many vicissitudes, but he never failed to patronise the Persian literature and thus became a prominent figure amongst its patrons.

(1) At the very outset, when his fratricidal wars came to a close, he had the opportunity to have, in his court, the poet *Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī*, whose following line, as we have seen above, had the honour to be inscribed on his coins:—

منادی بر آمد زهفت آسان که بهرام شاه است شاه جهان ۱

If it was so, then there is no hesitation to say that it was perhaps the greatest honour ever done to a poet of the East.

The same poet accompanied him in his invasion of India in 513/1119 and wrote several panegyrics to immortalise his patron's name and victories. He lived at the *Sultān's* court at *Ghaznīn*, though not continuously, till the year² A.H. 545/1150 or even after it when alarmed at the growing number of his (poet's) disciples, the *Sultān* had to send to him one scabbard and two swords, which the poet took to be an order to leave the country.³

1. The titles of *Khusrau Shāh's* son *Khusrau Malik* were *سراج الدوله* and *تاج الدوله* (*ibid.*, Nos. 1276 and 12764 respectively) and he was perhaps the only *Ghaznawide* ruler having a star and a crescent inscribed on his coins. From a note on page 114 and p. 115 of the English Tr. of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* we know that he was treacherously sent back by the *Ghurides* from Lahore to *Ghaznīn* and thence to *Gharjis-tān*, where he was immured and later killed in 598/1201. With him his family was also murdered and thus ended the House of *Subuktigin*. *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī* (p. 71) records that from 555/1160 the *Ghaznawide* rule was cut off from *Ghaznīn* and limited only to Lahore, Peshawar, etc. For the limits of *Maḥmūd's* kingdom see Dr. *Nāzīm's* map at the end of his book on this sovereign.

2. From the Br. Mus. MS. (Or. 4514, f. 123 b) we know that the poet composed a panegyric in a desert on leaving *Ghaznīn*, the last line of which is as follows:—

از سال پانصد و چهل و پنج گوئیا در من نگر که معجزه جد خود من

3. *Riyādu'sh-Shu'arā* (Imperial Library Calcutta, f. 96 a) ; *Makhzanu'l-Gharā'ib*, vol. I, (*Ḥabībganj*) , *Haft-Iqlīm*, f. 119 b, (Rampur), etc. There is a similar anecdote of quitting the country about *Rūmī's* father.

(2) Next comes Sanā'ī (d. 545/1150), the first Persian mystic poet whom even Rūmī has praised in his oft-cited verse:—

عطار روح بود و سنائی دو چشم او ما از پی سنائی و عطار آمدیم

From the Preface ¹ to Sanā'ī's *Ḥadīqa* by his devotee and disciple Muḥammad b. 'Alī Raqqā we understand that when Bahrām Shāh knew of the holy life of Sanā'ī, he offered him a post at his court, but the latter, who had led for forty years a life of retirement and 'poverty,' begged leave to retain his freedom. As a token of gratitude for the Sultān's acquiescence, Sanā'ī began to write his mystical doublet *Ḥadīqa* in 524/1130 and completed it in 525/1131, although in the course of its composition some of its portions were abstracted and divulged by certain ill-disposed people. Then the poet sent that work to Khwāja Burhānū'd-Dīn Abu'l 'Alī Nāṣir Ghaznawī at Baghdād (about whom we have already discussed above) for his opinion as is evident from its last poem, and he himself wrote a letter ² to the Sultān, explaining his love for Gnosis, which the people had found to be a strange thing in the *Ḥadīqa*. Anyway, Sanā'ī had an opportunity to receive favour and regard from Bahrām Shāh, whom he praised in the ninth canto of that long mathnawī and also in the several panegyrics of his dīwān.

(3) Amongst those patronised by Bahrām Shāh for literature, Abu'l Ma'ālī Naṣrū'llāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd ³ had an important personality, because later he was appointed also the vizier of Bahrām's son Khusrāu Shāh (d. 555/1160) and was praised thus by the poet Sayyid Hasan of Ghaznīn:—

وصل تو طرب فزای شیون	امے راحت روح و رامش تن
وز رنگ رخ تو خانه گلشن	بر بوے لب تو عقل سر مست
گوئی که بلور شد ملون	وز شرم چو روے بر فروزی
ترسان باشد پری ز آہن	آہن دلی، امے پری وش، ارچند
دور از تو شدم بکام دشمن	از دوستی تو عقل غافل
از غم بغرور عقل کودن	آید بہ دلم باز آیم
عہدم خون دوزلف خویش مشکن	در بندگئی تو چو در ستم
کاقبال شدہ ست زو مبرهن	آخر نہ منم غلام صدرے

1. The Bombay edition of *Ḥadīqa* contains that Preface. Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 317) gives the birthplace of Sanā'ī as Ghazna or Balkh, but the poet himself says in the *Ḥadīqa* (Lucknow ed, p. 582):—

گرچہ مولد مرا زغزین هست نظم شعرم چو نقش ما چین هست

2. That lengthy letter may be found in *Badāyūnī* (vol. I, Cal. edition, pp. 40-542).

3. This 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Ṣamad worked as vizier for 22 years under Ibrāhīm and then under Mas'ūd III and Arslān, till he was murdered in the reign of Bahrām Shāh. Rūmī (p. 44) also praises him thus:—

ترتیب فضل و قاعدہ جود و رسم او عبدالحمید احمد عبدالصمد نہاد

خورشید صفات ابوالمعالی کز راءے ولیست ملک روشن
نصرا لله بن محمد آن کو جانست و همه بهانیان تن¹

Thus Abu'l-Ma'ālī Naṣru'llāh translated *Kalila-wa-Dimna* into Persian from the Arabic version of 'Abdu'llah b. al-Muqaffa. This Persian version is praised as a model of elegance by Waṣṣāf in a chapter devoted to this book itself. The writer of *Haft-Iqlīm* says that no Persian prose-work was ever so much admired. He further gives Naṣru'llāh a prominent place amongst the eminent men of Shīrāz and states that this vizier of Khusrau Shāh (d. 555/1160) was cast into prison through the intrigues of his enemies and finally put to death by the order of that king.

Naṣru'llāh had dedicated the book of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh at his desire.

Dr. Rieu says :—

“The exact date of composition (of this book) is not stated, but it can be inferred from the author's incidental references to his own time. Thus the death² of Al-Mustarshid, which took place in A.H. 529 (A.D. 1134-35) is spoken of, fol. 11, as recent درین عهد. The Ghaznavi dynasty is said (fol. 7) to have ruled for 170 years, which, if counted from A.H. 366, when Subuktigin, according to the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, established his rule in Ghaznin, would come down to A.H. 536 (A.D. 1141). Lastly, when speaking of al-Mansur, fol. 13 the author says that four hundred and odd years (چهار صد و اند سال) had elapsed since his reign. As that Caliph began to reign from A.H. 136 this statement could hardly have been written before A.H. 538 or 539 (A.D. 1143 or 1144).”³

(4) Besides the above, the famous poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān cannot be forgotten. He was patronised apparently up to his death in 515/1121. He wrote several⁴ panegyrics in praise of Bahrām Shāh. One of 13 very fine verses, each of which contains the name of the patron in a very elegant manner, begins thus :—

تا برآمد ز آتش شمشیر بهرامی قرار دار گیتی را فک بر ملک بهرامی قرار
کرد بهرام افتخار از ملک شه بهرام شاه در همه معنی که بر تر دیده از این افتخار
گشت ملک و عدل از آباد تا ملکست و عدل ملک بهرامی لباس و عدل بهرامی نگار⁵

1. Br. Mus. MS., Or. 4514, f. 124 b.

2. According to Binākatī (Aṣafiya, Hyderabad, p. 175) the date of this caliph's death is 520.

3. British Museum Catalogue, vol. II, p. 746a. The details may be found on pp. 745a-746a (*ibid.*) and in Firishta, p. 50. But from Ibnul Fuwātī's *Majma'ul-Adāb* (Oriental College Magazine, May, 1935, p. 22) we know that 'Abdu'r Raḥīd b. Maḥmūd had himself translated that book from Arabic to Persian.

4. His diwān, Tehran ed., 1318, pp. 70, 74, 114, 116, 289 and 558.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 289. A good copy of this poet's diwān is in the public library of Lahore. According to Dr. Iqbāl Husain : ('The early Persian Poets of India, p. 111) the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd could not get patronage from Malik Arslan although he wrote several panegyrics in his praise, but later he became one of the courtiers of Bahrām Shāh.

(5) Another poet, patronised by Bahrām Shāh, was "Sayyidu'sh Shu'arā" Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Rūhānī¹ of Ghaznīn, whose composition is much obscure. His "Saugand Nāma" of 83 verses is found in the *Mūnisu'l Aḥrar* (pp. 212-215) and *Majmū'a-i-Qaṣā'id-i-Farsī* No. 49/2 (pp. 153-156) of the Ḥabīb Ganj Library and is of great historical value, as we shall discuss later. It begins thus:

زہمے بفکرت روشن زہاب چشمہ جان	در آفرینش عالم دلت معاً خوان
توئی توئی کہ اگر خواہمت عطارد ارض	درین سخن نبود خلق را مجال گمان
نجیب ملک حسین حسن برائے خدا	بتیغ دولت انصافم از بہان بستان
بذات پاک خدا و بدین پیغمبر	بیارگاہ خلیفہ بنعمت سلطان
یمن دولت بہرام شاہ بن مسعود	کہ آفتاب ملوک ست و سایہ یزدان

Other less important poets of Bahrām's court are (6) Muḥammad and (7) Ḥasan the sons of Nāṣir-i-'Alawī. Muḥammad, according to 'Awfī,² was older of the two and wrote very fine poetry in the court of Bahrām Shāh. His one panegyric begins thus:—

جو خاک و باد کند نور و ہم در آتش و آب شکمہ آن عرضے باد و جوہر آتش و آب

He was a contemporary and friend of Sanā'ī (d. 545/1150), who wrote a fine panegyric in his praise and on his lines:—

بمدح العمید شرف الدین محمد بن ناصر العلوی

بتے کہ گرفتند یک نظر بر آتش و آب	شود زلف جالش مصور آتش و آب
سر محمد سید محمد آن کہ شدہ ست	بلند ہمت و نظمیں بگوہر آتش و آب
میان طبع تو و طبع حاسدت در نظم	کفایت ست بر آن شعر داور آتش و آب
مباد قاعدہ دولت توزیر و زبر	ہمیشہ تاکہ بود زیر وزیر آتش و آب
بہ ہفت کشور نثرت رسید و نظم آری	جدا کہ دید خود آن ہیچ کشور آتش و آب ³

About Muḥammad's younger brother Sayyid Ḥasan I think 'Awfī could not distinguish between him and his popular and oft-cited namesake (Sayyid Ḥasan) of Ghaznīn, because the former was not even thirty when he died. His friend Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān wrote an elegy (d. 515/1121) thus:—

بر توسید حسن دلم گرید	کہ چو تو ہیچ غم گسار نہ داشت
زان ترا خاک در کنار گرفت	کہ چو تو شاہ در کنار نہ داشت
اے عزیزے کہ در ہمہ احوال	جان من دوستیت خار نہ داشت

1. For further details about Rūhānī see the Oriental College Magazine of Lahore, August 1940. See also Lubāb, II, pp. 282-287.

2. For this Muḥammad and Sayyid Ḥasan see Lubāb II, p. 267 and pp. 270-276 respectively. The dīwān of Muḥammad's father Nāṣir 'Alawī is perhaps the same as found on the margins (of p. 206 seq.) of the dīwān of Kamāl-i-Khuj and (Persian MS. No. 386, Aṣafia, Hyderabad, Deccan).

3. Sanā'ī's dīwān, ff. 13b-14a, Bankipore.

سی نه شد زاد تو فلک و یحک
 سال زاد ترا شہار نه داشت
 این قدر داد چون توفی را عمر
 شرم بادش که شرم عار نه داشت
 بد نپارست کرد با تو فلک
 تا مرا اندرین حصار نه داشت
 هیچ روزے به شب نه شد که مرا
 نامہ تو در انتظار نه داشت
 زار مسعود ازان ہمی گوید
 کہ بحق ماتم تو زار نه داشت¹

(8) Another important poet of Bahrām Shāh's court was Shihābu'd-Dīn 'Alī Abū Rizā of Ghaznīn (d. A.H. 586 or 598), who wrote several panegyrics in his praise, as we know from the *Lubāb* II (pp. 276-282) and *Majmā'ul-Fuṣaḥa* I (pp. 68-70). We may quote only the opening lines of some of those panegyrics:—

سپیدہ دم کہ خط نور بر ظلام کشند
 براق خسرو سیارہ در لگام کشند
 ابرے خوش ست و پردہ بر آفاق می کشد
 دل سوے ساقیان سمن ساق می کشد
 نازنین سرو , بارور نگرش
 کہ برد سجده سرو غاتفرش

There are two "fragments" written by him when Bahrām Shāh underwent operations by a phlebotomist. Their opening lines are:—

ملک بخوردن بادہ چو مطربان بنشانند
 ببر گرفتن خون فصد کرد ورگ زن خوانند
 آمد آن کودک مسیح پرست
 نیش الہاس گون گرفته بدست

The second "fragment" relates a story that when Bahrām Shāh was being operated upon by a phlebotomist, he held his chin whereupon he got annoyed. So the king remarked:—

شرط باشد بہ وقت کردن فصد
 گوے سیغین گرفتن اندر دست

But similar verses are found in Sanā'ī's *Diwān* (pp. 133-134 n. Bombay ed.) as well.

(8) One more distinguished poet, as we know from the *Lubāb* I (pp. 281-282), was Imām Fakhrū'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad of Nishāpūr, who wrote several books and also won Sanjar's mercy for Bahrām Shāh in 530/1136 by this quatrain:—

گر آب دہی نہال خود کاشته
 ورہست کنی بنا خود افراشته
 من بندہ ہانم کہ تو پنداشته
 از دست میفگم چو بر داشته

1. Professor Mas'ūd Ḥasan's copy, Lucknow. The printed *diwān* (pp. 62-63) of the poet also contains it. Other discussion on the namesake will be found in my separate article on Sayyid Ḥasan.

There are some more¹ poets of Bahrām's court mentioned in the *Lubāb* II (pp. 286, 291, 348). Their names are (10) Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān, (11) Sa'du'd-Dīn Mas'ūd and (12) Shamsu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. As they are less known we do not quote their verses here.

Anyway, there is no doubt as to the fact that a number of good poets and literati were patronised by Bahrām Shāh and he would certainly have ranked with the prominent patrons of Persian literature of all times, if his name has not been glittered in the "darkest pages of history."

(22) BAHRĀM SHĀH'S CHARACTER

Ibn-Athīr (vol. XI, p. 71) and the writer of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty p. 109) are correct in saying that Bahrām Shāh was munificent, just and kind-hearted. Of his love of munificence and forgiveness we find an anecdote in the *Ādābu'l-Harb* as follows:—

On one occasion Bahrām Shāh held an entertainment in the palace of the Pīrūzī Gardens. At sunset he ordered that the banquet pavilion of the palace be set up outside. The butlers and farrāshes began to take it out. As the palace became relatively more empty, a farrāsh trampled on a golden and bejewelled narcissus vase weighing a thousand mithqāl, doubled it, picked it up and tucked it away in his breeches. The Sultān saw it all, but pretended not to see it. When the pavilion was taken out they searched for the vase, but could not find it. The Head Steward of the Royal Workshops called in every person, but when he failed to find any of the servants confessing the theft he began to scourge them. When the Sultān heard this beating he sent for the Head Steward and said, "Don't penalise innocent Muslims, for he who has carried it away will not give it back and he (referring to himself) who has seen him carry it away will not betray him."

1. It is wrong to suppose like Firishṭa (p. 50, l. 9) that Nizāmī Ganjawi dedicated his *Makhzanu'l-Asrār* to this Bahrām Shāh, because it was composed in 582/1186, (about 30 years after our Bahrām's death) as one of its ending lines shows:—

ازگه هجرت شده تا این زمان بانصد و هشتاد و دو افزون برآن

His patron was Bahrām Shāh of Aḡharbāijān, as he himself says in the following lines, referring also to his namesake of Ghaznīn (whom Sanā'ī had raised):—

قرعه زدم ز نام تو آمد بفال	بر همه شاهان زینے این جلال
هر دو مسجل بدو بهرام شاه	نامه دو آمد زدو ناموس گاه
وین گهر از بحر نوانگیخته	آن زرے از کان کهن ریخته
وین زده بر سکه رومی درم	آن بدر آورده ز غزین علم
سکه و زرمن ازان بهترست	گرچه درآن سکه سخن چون زرتست

On the authority of Dawlat Shāh (p. 74, Browne ed.) Professor Browne (vol. II, p. 341) says that Jabālī also became the court-poet of Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn, but from his works—preserved in Habib Ganj and Bombay (Juma Masjid) libraries, we do not find any panegyric in his praise, and his name, according to the traditional practice of his age, is not found in any one of them

The Head Steward stopped his enquiry, the Sultān called in the superintendent of the Workshop, told him that he had presented that vase to someone, and ordered him to write it off in the inventory of the Household furniture. A long time after this, the farrāsh, who had carried away the vase, and invested its proceeds in acquiring estates and furniture, and purchasing female slaves, vineyards, gardens and mills, was helping the Sultān to wash his hands. He was then dressed in patched garments, when the Sultān said, "You wretch! have you nothing left out of the proceeds of that narcissus vase?" He replied that it was all gone. Then the Sultān gave him more money and said "Spend it. When it is all spent I will order them to give you more, but don't mention these things to any one lest they take you to task, (for your misdeed)."¹

For his love of justice we find an anecdote² in the *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (vol. III, f. 1021 b) as follows:—

Once an afflicted man brought an appeal before Bahrām Shāh against the oppressions of a certain governor ('Āmil). The Sultān wrote an order asking him to redress the wrong, and gave that order to the man to take it to him. When the man handed the order to the governor he tore it to pieces and forced the man to swallow it. The man had to do so, but he approached the Sultān a second time and told him what had happened. Bahrām Shāh ordered his secretary (dabir) to write an order. The secretary took out a big paper to write on, then the aggrieved man said, "Please write the order on a small paper, so that it may not be difficult for me to swallow it."

Bahrām Shāh laughed at this remark, so the man said, "If thou hadst some sense of respect and dignity, thou wouldst have wept to see that thy governor does not obey thy order."

These words impressed the Sultān very much. He instantly girded a sword to his loins, mounted his horse and proceeded to the place where the governor was. The Sultān enquired into the matter and killed the governor on the spot.

But in spite of these virtues Bahrām Shāh was a man only and not an angel. He had a heart and was prone to be attracted by female beauty. From the *Ādābu'l-Harb* we have the following story³ about the Sultān's infatuation for a beautiful maid-servant whom he had purchased.

Once she fell so seriously ill that the physicians of the state could not treat her. The Sultān was greatly upset. At that time a Christian named Abū Sa'id of Mosil, happened to come to the capital from 'Irāq. As he was an expert physician, he was informed about the patient

1. *Ādābu'l-Harb*, Lahore edn, pp. 7-8, but I have followed its translation by Miss Iqbāl M. Shafi' in "Islamic Culture," April, 1938, pp. 119-200.

2. Muḥammad 'Awfi quotes a similar anecdote in the *Jawāmi'ul-Hikāyat* (Tr. II, 319, Delhi ed.) but ascribes it to Mas'ūd (?) of Ghaznīn.

3. *Ibid.* (Tr.), pp. 196-199.

but not about her sex. He sent for the urine, on the examination of which he could suggest a line of treatment.

Next day they took the urine to him. When he saw it he said "It is the urine of a Hindu woman, for they mostly suffer from this disease, which has conflicting characteristics, and is difficult to cure. Let me see the patient so that after feeling her pulse, seeing her face, tongue and the eyelids, I may diagnose the disease better and prescribe some medicine for her."

This was reported to the Sultān, who was surprised to hear of the perfect skill and knowledge of the physician, but did not like to show her to a stranger. At length, on the advice of his nobles he agreed to it but ordered his Atābek (lit. Father Prince) Mehtar Jawhar to be with the woman on the occasion.

When the physician saw her, he behaved like a mad man, ran out and said, "I am going home to consult my books, because the case is a difficult one."

But when Mehtar Jawhar told the Sultān how the physician had fallen in love with the patient, he was wild with rage and Mehtar Jawhar then tactfully handled the situation by saying that the physician prayed that if the "Lord of the World would sell or give him the maid as a gift he would embrace Islam." This remark cooled Bahrām Shāh. He then asked Mehtar Jawhar to bring the physician, if he really wanted to become a Muslim. The physician was then summoned to the court, where he embraced Islam and the maid, whom the Sultān had manumitted, was married to him.

The maid was given a large dowry, for every lady of the royal seraglio presented her with a quantity of wearing apparel, so that from every palace four hundred pieces came to her. The couple became exceedingly rich and after a few days the patient recovered her health. She gave birth to two daughters and two sons, and the sons were the contemporaries of the author of the *Ādābu'l-Harb* as he himself says in that book.¹

1. The first portion of this story may be compared with that of the first story of Rūmī (d. 672/1273), whose full contents are summarised here:—

A prince, while engaged in hunting, saw a fair maiden, whom he brought with him after promise of gold. Once she fell sick and the prince had her tended by many physicians. As, however, they did not say "God willing, we will cure her," their attempts failed to cure her. The prince then prayed to God and in answer thereto a physician was sent from heaven. He at once condemned his predecessor's view of the case, and by a very skilful diagnosis (i.e., feeling gradually the stronger beats of her pulse on her consecutive answers to his queries, regarding her lover's home) he discovered that the real cause of the maiden's illness was her love for a certain goldsmith. He then arranged to get him married to the love-sick maiden and for six months the couple lived together in happiness and good health. After that the physician, by divine order, gave the goldsmith a poisonous draught, which caused his strength and beauty to decay. Then he lost favour with the maiden, and she was reunited to the prince.

Rūmī's account regarding the diagnosis (i.e., feeling the pulse beats of the patient in finding out her lover's destination) may be compared with that of the fifth story of the fourth Maqāla of Nizāmī 'Arūdī. Therein the physician is Avicenna and the patient was a man (and not a woman) related to Qābūs. The rest of the story, regarding the diagnosis, is similar to that of Rūmī.

There is a similar story in Majma'un-Nawādir of Faiḍu'llāh. (See the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August, 1939, pp. 105-106.)

(23) BAHRĀM SHĀH'S SONS AND VIZIERS

From the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (Raverty, p. 111) we learn that Bahrām Shāh had ten sons:—

- (1) Jalālu'd-Daulah, Daulat Shāh (slain in battle with the Ghurides in 545/1150), (2) 'Alāu'd-Daulah, Dāwūd Shāh (or Zāwu'l Shāh); (3) Bahāu'd-Daulah, Sultān Shāh; (4) Fakhru'd-Daulah, 'Alī Shāh; (5) 'Izzu'd-Daulah, Muḥammad Shāh; (6) Samāu'd-Daulah, Mas'ūd Shāh, (7) Shihābu'd-Daulah, Maṣṣūr Shāh, (8) Mu'īnu'd-Daulah, Shāhin Shāh, (9) Mu'izzud-Daulah, Khusrau Shāh and (10) Sayyidud-Daulah, Farrukh Shāh.

The first son was really the eldest one, as the poet Sayyid Ḥasan says:—

دائم تو به این بزرگواری فرزند مهین پادشاهی
دولت شه تا جورکه دارد میراث زعون مصطفائی¹

The date of birth of Bahrām's son Khusrau Shāh (ninth in the above order), as given in *Jannātu'l-Firdaus* (f. 64 a, Bankipore) and *Mujmal-i-Faṣihī* (f. 160b. Bankipore) is 515/1121. Hence the eldest son Daulat Shāh, even if born of a different mother, was not born later² than 514/1120. This shows that at the time of the composition of Sanā'i's *Ḥadīqa* in 524/1130, when he appears to have returned from Sanjar's hostage Daulat Shāh was not more than ten years of age. After that we have seen his valour in 545/1150 against the forces of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Ghūri and his subsequent murder in that fight.

But the poet Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī, in his long panegyric, in praise of Bahrām Shāh after the latter's victory over Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī on the 2nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 544 (Thursday, the 12th of May, A.D. 1149), mentions three sons only, i.e., Nos. 6, 8 and 9 of the above order and not Daulat Shāh. So, his absence in a less important war of 544/1149 shows that he was then engaged on a more important task, most probably he was in charge of India, and it is to be inferred from the following lines of the same poet:—

تابر سر ولایت خود آمده ست شاه گوئی به اوج در شرف ست آفتاب و ماه
آن کامگار مشرق و آن شهریار هند آن اختیار دولت و آن افتخار گاه

1. India Office MS., No. 931, fol. 142 a.

2. This suggests that Bahrām Shāh might have been married after his enthronement in 511/1117. We have already seen in the beginning that Bahrām had gone to seek Sanjar's help in the company of one attendant and no other, because, most probably, he had then no wife or family.

والا جلال ملت شه شجاع آن آفتاب بارگه و سایه اله
از شرع با حلال و از شرک با فزع از ملک با طراوت و از عدل در پناه¹

The third and fourth verses refer "Jalālu'd-Daulah" as the correct title of Daulat Shāh, who is called the "king of India" in the second verse. It was most probably under him that Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr was the vizier (or viceroy) of India, as is inferred from the following verse of the same poet Hasan :

عمر مرا هواے لهاور بوده بود همت بر آن سعادت منصور بوده بود
نزدیک نورنیک بدیع ست پس عجب گوئی که آفتاب مگر دور بوده بود
فی فی چونین به دفع لهاور یکے بود این نکته بر ضمیرم مستور بوده بود
دیدم کنون که خاصیت نور آفتاب در همت محمد منصور بوده بود
صدرے که هر یک از پدر و جدا و چون در مملکت به رازی مشهور بوده بود
بودم ضعیف داد مرا قوت سپاس چون می که جان او شد و انگور بوده بود
یک هفته دور ماند زد یدار تو حسن از لطف در گذار که معذور بوده بود²

This view seems to be correct when from *Habibu's-Siyar* (vol. II, part IV, p. 33) and *Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī* (f. 1029 b) we know that this Abū Muḥammad, Hasan b. Abū (Naṣr) Maṣṣūr al-Qā'irī³ was the vizier of Bahrām Shāh. This Muḥammad was descended from Aḥmad b. Hasan Maimandī, the famous vizier of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghazrawī, as is inferred from the following verses of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān in praise of his father Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr :—

عمیدے کہ اخبار او همچو دین رسیدہ ست در هر بلا دو کور⁴
ابو نصر منصور کاندز جهان شدہ نام او چون هنر مشہر
منصور بن سعید بن احمد کہ در جهان چون فضل نامور شد و چون جود مشہر⁵

1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 8 b-83 a. The fact that he was in charge of India is inferred also from a *tarjī'*-band by the same poet, praising Daulat Shāh's horse. Some of its verses are :—

پیکرے کو فتح و نصرت را بحق جان آمدست رشک رخس رستم و تخت سلیمان آمدہ ست
نے غلط کردم براق ست او ولیکن از بہشت بہر غزو شاہ ہندستان بفرمان آمدہ ست

مفخر دہیم و گاہ و زینت تخت ولادہ ضرورت اقبال دولت شاہ بن بہرام شاہ

2. India Office MS., No. 931 a. The same poet has two more panegyrics in his praise. A verse of one of them is :—

والہ کہ محمد ابن منصور همچون پدرست نیک خواہت

Ibid., f. 112 a). About his dates and those of his successor Hasan b. Aḥmad see my separate Article on Sayyid Hasan.

3. He may not be confused with مفق مشرق محمد ابن منصور of *Sarakhs*, who was only a theologian and not a vizier during the reign of Bahrām Shāh. Sanā'i dedicated his *المعاد والی الہاد* to him. See Dr. M. Iqbal's note on pp. 473-475 of *Rāḥat-uṣ-Ṣudūr*.

4. *Dīwān* of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd. Tehran edn., 1318, p. 201.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

نیز منویس نامہ	ہاے امید	یش مفرست	رقعہاے نیاز
جز بر صاحب اجل	منصور	آن کہ مهرش برد	زچرخ نماز
حرز جان تو بس بود	زبلا	مدحت	شہر یار بندہ نواز
ہادشا بو المظفر	ابراہیم	آن زمانہ	نہاد گردون ساز ¹
خواجہ منصور بن سعید	کہ کرد	زندہ آثار	احمد بن حسن ²
منصور سعید	آن کہ ازو مجلس سلطان	چون چرخ زخورشید	گرفتہست جہاے
از آل وزیر الوزرائیست	کہ ہرگز	نہست ونہ بود	ونہ بود چون اووالے ³
باتاج سروران	ہمہ حضرت	خواجہ عمید	صاحب میمندی
منصور بن سعید	خداوندے	کز فراوست	تازہ خداوندی ⁴

These lines show that Abū Muḥammad, the vizier or viceroy of India was the son of Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr, the son of Sa'id, the son of Aḥmad, the son of Ḥasan Maimandī.

Next comes Bahrām Shāh's another son Khusrāu Shāh, in whose praise there are several panegyrics by the poet Sayyid Ḥasan, but none of them carries any historical value, with the exception of one which suggests that he had gone as a hostage to Sanjar's court in 530/1136. One panegyric seems to have been written on his recovery from some illness or probably on his return from Sanjar's court. Some of its verses are as follows:—

از گوہر شمشیر	خداوندی زنگار	اے بخت بدہ	مژدہ کہ برخاست یک بار
فرخندہ نہال	چمن دولت پر بار	اے خلق بنازید	کہ باردگر آمد
شد مرد مک چشم	جہا نداری بیدار	شکر از تو خدا	یا کہ ازین جاے مبارک
خسروشہ فرخندہ	کہ باداش فلک یار	آرام دل و روشنی	چشم شہنشاہ
چونان کہ دراز	آب و وزراکان و گل از خار	از رنج برون	آمد المنۃ للہ
از سایۂ برگ گل	بر گیرد آزار	آسودہ شد آن جان	کہ تن نازک پاکش
شد آتش نیلوفری	از عطر چون گلزار	شاہاز گل باغ	جلال تو کہ بشگفت
عیسی بہ زمین	آمدے از چرخ برین کار	ازین رضایے	تو شفا یافت و گرنہ

1. Diwan of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, Tehran, edn. 1318. p. 201.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 458.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 513.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 527. The poet Abu'l-Faraj Rūnī has also praised this Maṣṣūr b. Sa'id. See his diwān, pp. 58, 139, etc.

5. India Office MS., No. 931, f. 83 b. The same poet had once written a laudatory poem on Bahrām Shāh's suffering from pain in his foot (*Ibid.*, f. 70 b):—

گوہر کان خداوندی	ملک بہرام شاہ	آن کہ ہر لفظش بجایے	در شہوار ایستد
درد پایش را کہ زایل	باد عذراست این و بس	کان خداوند از برای	خلق بسیار ایستد

This prince, as we have seen, was born in 515/1121. He ruled, after his father's death, from 552/1157 up to 555/1160.

About the third son "Abū Mulūk Mu'īnu'd-Daulah" Shāhin Shāh, the eighth son in the above-mentioned list of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, we find the following panegyric by Sayyid Ḥasan.

برین نظام جهان را کسے نہ داد نشان	خدایے داند و بس تا چه خرم است جهان
کہ هست نامش بر نامہ ظفر عنوان	ابوالمظفر بہرام شاہ بن مسعود
کہ هست نور دل و چشم سایہ یزدان	معز دولت و دین و معین ملت و ملک
کہ شد بدولتش آراستہ زمین و زمان	ابو الملوك خداوند زادہ شاعنشہ
ز محضر تربیت شاہ و حرمت خود دان	اگر تفاوت ہرگز فتاد ذات ترا
شود ہر آینہ بدرے مسلم از نقصان ¹	ہلال و ارچو کردی ز چرخ ملک طلوع

Of the ten sons mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* these three are often recalled by the poets. It was, most probably, on Bahrām Shāh's return from flight to India in 543/1148, on the first attack by the Ghurides, that the poet Sayyid Ḥasan wrote a panegyric mentioning the three sons only :-

بار دادہ ست سلیمان نبی باز مکر	اندرین عید مبارک پیئے و فرخندہ اثر
مردم و دیو و پری گشت فراہم یکسر	کہ زیلان و دلیران و شجاعان امروز
تعبیہ در کنف رایت او فتح و ظفر	شاہ در مرکز اقبال توقف کردہ
تخت میمونش چو کوئے کہ بود جانان در	تاج عالیش چو چرخے کہ بود بے حرکت
سہ ملک زادہ کہ شان بندہ سزد ہفت اختر ²	رفتہ با کوکبہ در مشرق خورشید ملوک

The poet Ruhānī Ghaznawī also refers to the three sons of Bahrām Shāh in his "Saugand Nāma" thus :--

بیار گاہ خلیفہ بہ نعمت سلطان	بذات پاک خدا و بدین پیغمبر
کہ آفتاب ملوک ست و سایہ یزدان	یمن دولت بہرام شاہ بن مسعود
بگرد نعل سپاہ و بذرۂ اعیان ³	بجان ہر سہ جگر گوشہ دلاور تو

But from the long panegyric of Sayyid Ḥasan, written on Bahrām Shāh's victory on the 2nd of Muharram, A.H. 544 (Thursday, the 12th of May, 1149), we know that "Samāu'd-Daulah" Mas'ūd Shāh, the sixth in the list of the *Ṭabaqāt*, is also mentioned. Hence, only four sons (1) Daulat Shāh, (2) Mas'ūd Shāh, (3) Khusrāu Shāh and (4) Shāhin Shāh out of ten appear to have lived or deserved any mention. The other six either died in their childhood or failed to be praised by the poets.

1. India Office MS. No. 931. ff 81a-b. This panegyric describes, in other verses, the glory, splendour, peace and tranquillity of the capital Ghaznī.

2. *Ibid.*, ff 69b-70 a.

3. Mūnisu'l-Ahrār, Ḥabībganj, p. 212.

Now we should find out the viziers of Bahrām Shāh, besides his viceroy¹ Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr al-Qā'inī of India. From the following verses of the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sūd (d. 515/1121) we know that in the beginning of his reign Bahrām Shāh's vizier, was Aḥmad :—

داد گیتی را فلک بر ملک بهرامی قرار	تا برآمد ز آتش شمشیر بهرامی شرار
در همه معنی که برتر دیده از این افتخار	کرد بهرام افتخار از ملک شه بهرام شه
از بے صدر وزارت کرد اورا اختیار	در همه معنی چو احمد بود بهرامی مضار
سعد و نحس دوستان و دشمنان شد آشکار	در کف کافی او زان خامه بهرام سیر
از نشاط خدمت تو گشت خرم روزگار ²	این وزارت را که بهرامی ست تیغ طبع او

Bahrām Shāh seems to have appointed this Aḥmad as his vizier just after he had killed the old one 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd (b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Ṣamad), who, according to the writers of *Āthāru'l-Wuzarā* (ff. 145 a-b, Bankipore), *Dastūru'l-Wuzarā* (Tehran edn., p. 147) *Subḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (vol. III, f. 1029 a, Banikpore), etc., had served under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (d. 492/1099) for 22 years, under Mas'ūd III (d. 508/1115) for 16 years and under Malik Arslān (d. 512/1118) probably for three years. About the duration of the vizierate of Aḥmad (the son of Ḥisain, as we shall know later) we have no record, but he seems to have not lived long, because the poets Sar ā'ī and Sayyid Ḥasan have got no panegyrics in his praise. After him most probably his own son "Muntakḥ ibi'l-Mulk Qiwāmu'd-dīn" Abū 'Alī Ḥasan succeeded to his post. There are several panegyrics in his praise by the poet Sayyid Ḥasan. I select here a few useful verses from different panegyrics :—

رخش بر مه گلستان می نماید	بر آتش آب حیوان می نماید
قوام دولت و ملت حسن آن	که صدر و بدر اعیان می نماید
خدا یا این چه اخلاص و سداد است	که او در ملک سلطان می نماید
خداوند جهان بهرام شه آن	که بافر ملیان می نماید ³
قوام الدین حسن صدری که دولت	مراد دل بدو آسان فرستد ⁴
یارب چه موز بود که اندر جهان فتاد	سود حسود صدر جهان را زیان فتاد
صدر جهانیان حسن احمد حسین	کش دست و دل بجود سویم بجزو کان فتاد ⁵

1. This Abū Muḥammad would have been the viceroy of India after Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm 'Alawī, who had been appointed after the death of Muḥammad-i-Abū Ḥalīm.

2. His dīwān, p. 289.

3. In Lia Office Mj. No. 931, f. 88 b.

4. *Ibid.*, f. 111 b.

5. *Ibid.*, f. 53 a.

خجسته بادا بر خواجه عمید اجل
که برگزید زخلقش خدائے عزوجل
رفیع قدر و محل و عزیز علم و عمل
شده ست آیت مری و مردمی منزل 1

طلوع خسرو سیارگان به برج حمل
یگانه منتخب ملک شاه و تاج خواص
جمیل نام و نشان و سدید قول و قلم
ابو علی حسن احمدان که در شانش
از زبان ممدوح می گوید :-

عمری به امید می سپارم
نظمت آن که دم بر آرم
جز بر در خاص شهر یارم
جز بر در او نه داده بارم
پرورده اقبال در کنارم
من از دو وزیر یادگارم 2

کار می بگزاف می گذارم
نظمت زهره آن که دل بجویم
گر رنج تو نیست هیچ راحت
صاحب حسن آن که شاه دولت
آن صدر منم که از عزیزی
شکر ایزد که مملکت را

The last verse shows, that this vizier Hasan is the descendant of the two previous viziers, i.e., (a) his father Ahmad and (b) his grandfather Husain.

Up to the year 544/1149, at least, this Hasan was alive, because on the recovery of Ghaznīn by Bahrām Shāh in that year, as we have already seen, the poet wrote a panegyric in which this vizier appears to have regained his post after the collapse of the Ghurides. Some of its verses are :

ایمن شد از محاق و کسوف آفتاب و ماه
عم گلبن سعادت و هم سرو بارگاه
روئے نکوئے منتخب از چشم بد نگاه
ز آن آفتاب مملکت و سایه اله
تا چشم شان سپید شد و روئے شان سیاه

منت خدای را که به اقبال پادشاه
منت خدای را که شگفت و جمید باز
منت خدای را که به طبع لطیف داشت
منت خدای را که زمانه گرفت خو
بس چشم شور و روئے ترش بود منتظر

1. India Office MS. No. 931, f. 52 b.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 90 a. But this قوام الدین حسن of Bahrām's court should not be confused with قوام الدین of Sanjar's court (f. 183 b.). He (the latter) died in 528/1133-34 (Rāḥatū's-Šudūr, p. 209) and had killed the famous عین القضاة همدانی (Khazīnatu'l-Āṣfiyā, vol. II, p. 10). The writer of ممالك الالکین (vol. II, p. 260, Agra edn.) says that he had thrown Hamdānī into fire as well. We quote here a fine quatrain of Hamdānī from بیاض رباعیات No. 1469, Nadwa Library, Lucknow :—

در کوئے مراد منزلی باید نیست
وز کشته عشق حاصلی باید نیست
گفتی که بصیر کار تو نیک شود
با صبر تو دانی نه دلی باید نیست

Sanā'i, too, has praised one قوام الدین حسن (Diwan, Bombay edn., p. 77) and he is apparently of Bahrām's court.

بارے بجائے سرو نہ بیند کسے گیاه	بارے بہ اوج ماہ نہ بیند کسے سہا
تاہر فضول کڑ نہد گوشہ کلاہ	تاج خواص بر سر دولت رسید باز
روشن چنان کہ تیرہ نہ گردد بہ ہیچ آہ	آئینہ کہ عکس بزرگی نموده، گشت
در سایہ سعادت او ملک و دین پناہ	خورشید مملکت حسن احمد آن کہ ساخت
باز آمدی چو شیر سیہ در شکار گاہ	باز آمدی چو باز سپید از گریز جائے
رہبر توئی رہا مکن اندر میان راہ ¹	من بندہ را کہ ہست زہر علم حاصلے

Verses 5 and 6 refer to Saifu'd-Dīn Sūrī, who was gibbeted, along with his vizier Majdu'd-Dīn Mūsawī, by Bahrām Shāh on the 2nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 544 (Thursday, 12th May, 1149). Other verses show that after that murder Bahrām Shāh regained his throne and his vizierate.

After this vizier, i.e., at the end of Bahrām's reign, his (vizier's) son نجیب الملک نجیب الدین حسین succeeded to that post. There are several panegyrics and tarji'-bands in his praise by the poet Sayyid Ḥasan, the useful verses of which I quote here:—

آن کردہ خدایش زہمہ خلق خلاصہ	فرزانہ حسین' حسن احمد خاصہ
باغ نظر منتخب الملک حسن باد ²	فرخندہ جالت کہ گل دولت و دین ست
چون کند بلبل زبان گشتہ	صفت گلستان رخسارت
چرخ کہنہ ز سر جوان گشتہ	از توتا دولت نجیب الملک
گل باغ ہنر حسین حسن ³	خاصہ شاہ و خواجہ زادہ من
از بہر پستہ آمد و در شکر او فتاد	روزے نگر کہ طوطی جانم سوے لب
گرچہ شبہ نمود و ہمہ گوہر او فتاد	این ہم بدان سبب کہ ز کلک نجیب دین
از جام جود او دل و جان امید مست ⁴	آن کلک کیست، کلک حسین حسن کہ ہست
پس نکو نام پیش شاہ شدہ	باز گشتہ ز با ختر منصور
از صدا صیت بارگاہ شدہ	دادہ دولت چو پردہ دار آواز
آب تیغ ظفر حسین حسن ⁵	آرزوے دل و دودیدہ من

These verses clearly show that Najibu'd-Dīn Ḥusain succeeded his father to the vizierate. The third verse, from the last, shows that he had been to Bacteria (Balkh, or to some western town) for some war which he won. During the vizierate of this Ḥusain, Sayyidu'sh-Shu'arā Rūḥānī of

1. India Office MS., No. 931, ff. 47 b-48 a.

2. *Ibid.*, ff. 33 a-b.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 36 a.

4. *Ibid.*, f. 28 b.

5. *Ibid.*, f. 117 a.

Ghaznī wrote his long "Saugand Nāmā" of 83 verses, which I quote here, selecting only a few useful verses for their historical importance: —

زہمے بفکرت روشن زہاب چشمہ جان در آفرینش عالم دلت معا خوان
توئی توئی کہ اگر خوانمت عطاردارض درین سخن نبود خلق را مجال گمان
نجیب ملک حسین حسن برائے خدا یتیم دولت انصاف از جہان بستان
شنیدہ تو کہ سو گند نامہا دیدم زگفتہ دوسہ محراب کوب لت انبان
یکے از ایشان پنجک ستان و پنبہ فروش کہ کرد گردش چرخش چو چرخ سرگردان
دوم ادیب پریشان سخن کہ پیمودہ ست ہزار بار بسینہ ہمہ دیرستان
سوم رشیدک و طواط ژاژ خاے کہ ہست چو کلخ گندہ دماغ و چودلخ پنبہ دہان
چہارمین شان کان سہ کجانبہم بارے(?) چراغ مردہ دانش فرزدق بنیان (?)
سیاہ روے، خنک اخترے، سفید تنے کہ روزگار برو کرد خانہ چون زندان
چہ کفرها و چہ سو گند نامہاے دروغ کہ چشم شرع بماندہ ست در تعمیر آن
ولیک ہم بخداے کہ آفریدہ اوست باتفاق نبات و معادن و حیوان
بعز ملک خداے و بکام عالم امر بنور جوہر عقل و بنطق گوہر جان
یمن دولت بہرام شاہ بن مسعود کہ آفتاب ملوک ست و سایہ یزدان
بجان ہر سہ جگر گوشہ دلاور تو بگرد نعل سپاہ و بذرۂ اعیان
برائے صاحب کافی، بجاہ مجد الملک کہ روح شان ہمہ روح ست و راح شان ربان
یتیم احمد طغرل کہ چون زمانہ زند زبیم زرد شود خاک رستم دستان
یمن علم عفیف و بروزگار سہیل بہوشیاری مثال و دولت ارکان
بچار بالش حکم قضائے تاج الدین بخاک مسجد جامع بچم شارستان
کہ ہر چہار گنگار بودہ اند و ہنوز اگر بکوی استادہ اند صد چندان
چون لالہ باد اناے گلوے ہر یک سرخ بدان کناہ کہ درغالیہ زنند زبان
چو ملک را بقایت چوتیر شد بازار زبان ایشان از تیغ کند شد دندان
نعوذ باللہ امروز مثل صابر کیست ؟ کہ روزگار بہ اشعار او زند دستان
بجز رشید ندانم درین زمانہ کسے کہ زاد فکرت او ہست چشمہ حیوان
حسن کہ آینہ نور نفس ناطقہ اوست ازو چگونه برم گوے نطق در میدان
فرزدق بنیانی کہ آیدیش بلا فزون زریگ بیابان و قطرۂ باران
ولیک سوختہ شد تر و خشک عود چوبید بہم طویلگی آن فلان و این بہان

The following points in these verses are to be noted:—

(a) Verses 5-9 and 22-25 refer to Rūhānī's contemporary poets

Adīb-i-Šābir (died ?)¹ Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt (d. 573/1177), Sayyid Hasan Ghaznawī (d. 556/1161) and Farazdaq of Baniān² (?). From the said verses it is evident that they were living at the time when Rūhānī wrote this "Saugand Nāma."

(b) The fourth and tenth verses show that those four 'poets had already written their "Saugand Nāmas." So, if we find out the date of Rūhānī's "Saugand Nāma," which was written later than those four, we can easily fix the date of those personages, who are mentioned in it.

The poet Adīb-i-Šābir's "Saugand Nāma" begins thus :

دلم بمهر اسیرست وتن بعشق فدای همی بگوش من آید زلفظ عشق ندی

It was written in praise of :—

اجل رئیس خراسان و فخر موسویان که اوست مالش فرعون ظلم را موسی
خجسته تاج معالی علی بن جعفر که علم جعفر صادق همی کند املی³

Most of the panegyrics of Adīb-i-Šābir (as we find in his complete *dwān* at Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay) are in praise of this patron, who was a vizier⁴ or counsellor of Sanjar, as we know from Jabalī :

خداوندی که در تیرش فشانند نسر طائر پر شهنشاهی که بر تا جش فشانند چرخ دائر فر
سلاطین را بحق وارث معز الدین ابوالحارث شه آفاق را برهان امیر المومنین سنجر
سلاطین و خلائف را بدو فخرست همواره چو سادات اکابر را بمجددین پیغمبر
رئیس مشرق و مغرب ابوالقاسم علی صدری که چون هم کنیت و هم نام خویش آمد بفضل و فر
امیر سادۀ عالم ، چراغ گوهر آدم شیر خسرو اعظم ، جمال دودۀ جعفر
بزرگی کز بیان و طبع و دست مدحش افزاید قلم حرمت ، کرم جاری ، سخارونقی ، سخن مفخر

Waṭwāt's "Saugand Nāma" runs as follows :—

ز به وجود تو ایام مکرمت مشهور خهری به جاه تو اعلام محمّدت منصور
خدا یگانا گفتند خاسدان بغرض که شد الوف دل من ز خدمت تو نفور
بحق صانع هفت آسمان و هفت زمین که نیست عقل در انکار صنع او معذور
که تانیاید نزدیکم اضطرار فنا ز صدر تو نه شوم جز به اختیار تو دور

1. Dr. Ethe has given (India Office Catalogue, vol. II, p. 637) five dates of the death of Shihābū'd-Dīn Adīb-i-Šābir as 538, 540, 544, 546 or 547. For his correct dates and details see my essay in the *Ma'ārif* September, 1942.

2. The eighth verse is not clear. The native place mentioned with the name of Farazdaq is also not clear. In Mūnīsu'l-Ahrār the word in that verse appears to be as "Multan," but in the 25th verse of the above order both MSS. have "Baniān." If it is so, then it was a place between Ghaznīn, Karmān, and the tract north or west of the Salt Range near the Sind (see Raverty's notes on pp. 541, 623, etc., in his *Tr. of the Tabaqāt*). It may be read as Banbān as well.

3. Majmu'a-i-Qaṣā'id-i-Fārsī 49/2, pp. 148, 149, Habibganj MS.

4. For this vizier and some other unknown viziers of Sanjar see my essay in the *Ma'ārif*, September-November, 1942.

5. Jabalī's *diwān*, Juma Masjid Library, Bombay.

6. M. U. Aligarh MS.

The name of the patron is not referred to therein, but it is most probably in praise of Atsiz Khwārazm Shāh (551/915 b).

The "Saugand Nāma" of the third poet, i.e., of Sayyid Ḥasan opens with these lines :—

کشاد صورت دولت بشکر شاه دهان	چو بست زیور اقبال بر عروس جهان
خدا یگان ملاطین مشرق و مغرب	علا دینی و دین خسرو زمین و زمان
ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود	که هست نامش بر نامه ظفر عنوان
کشاده دولت و دین چشم تارود بر تخت	نهاده جان و جهان گوش تا دهد فرمان
تبارک الله ازان ساعت خجسته چه بود	که باز گشت مظفر ز غزو هندستان
جهان بکام و فلک بنده و ملک داعی	امید تازه و دولت قوی و بخت جوان
بدان خدای که هر ذره بر خداوندیش	همی نماید چون آفتاب صد برهان

OATHS

بِعمر خود نه فراموش کردم و نه دم	نه نیز در دلم آید که هرگز این بتوان
خدا یگانا گندم نخورده چون آدم	برون فتادم ناگه ز روضه رضوان
من اولاً کیم و آخر آن چه سهو بود	اگر کنم که ببخشایش تو ارزد آن
امید خلعت ثم اجتباہ می دارم	که روز و شب شده ام ربناً ظلمناً خوان
خدای عزوجل داندای سلیان فر	که همچو عنقا زین شرم گشته ام پنهان
مرا عزیز تو کردی بچست وجوے یقین	کنون ذلیل مگر دان بگفت و گوے گان ¹

This "Saugand Nāma" is important because Rūḥānī followed it in writing his own, both in metre and in rhyme, and it refers to the date (544/1149), when according to 'Awfī² this poet Ḥasan annoyed his patron Bahrām Shāh on having been found amongst the Ghuride prisoners, but was, later on, forgiven.

So, Rūḥānī, as his fourth and tenth verses show, wrote his "Saugand Nāma" even after that of Sayyid Ḥasan and during the vizierate of Najību'l-Mulk Ḥusain b. Ḥasan, i.e., *much after* 544/1149.

(c) Some other officers of authority are also mentioned by Rūḥānī. His 16th verse shows that Aḥmad b. Tughril was a great fighter (or the commander-in-chief?) in the army of Bahrām Shāh. From the 18th verse we know the name of the Qāḍī of Ghaznī as Tāju'd-Dīn. Other officers mentioned in the 15th and 17th verses are still in the dark, unless we get some better and clear record about them. The صاحب کافى is probably the same as one praised by Sayyid Ḥasan :—

اکفی الکفات مشرق و مغرب رئیس دین	کامد فلک بزیر و محلس زبر نشست
وی چون ز شرط سوے حرم شد کریم وار	گامے دوسه برا سبک خادم مگر نشست ³

1. British Museum MS. Or. 4514, f. 125 a sqq. The fourth poet Farazdaq is absolutely unknown.

2. Lubābu'l-Albāb, vol. II, p. 287.

3. India Office MS. No. 931, f. 141 a.

This is all that we gather, about Bahrām Shāh's obscure reign, from the rare records available in India and abroad, but unfortunately, Afghānistān, the home of this Sultān, does not help us in the matter.

GHULAM MUSTAFA KHAN.

(Concluded)

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

INDIA

Instruction through Mother Tongue :

THE Central Advisory Board of Education, Government of India, held its fifteenth session at Allahabad in the second week of January, 1949 under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's Minister of Education. The Board recommended that the medium of instruction in the junior basic stage must be the mother tongue and that if there is a reasonable number of students—at least forty in the school—arrangements may be made for teaching through their mother tongue. The Board also decided that the regional language, where it was different from the mother tongue, should be introduced not earlier than the third and not later than the fifth year at basic schools. If, however, there was a sufficient number of students to justify a separate school in any area, the medium of instruction in such a school may be language other than the regional language. Regarding the proposal of the Madras Government that in regions where Hindustani is not the regional language Hindustani may be taught in the secondary schools in the Roman script or in the script of the regional language and that the Devnagri script may be taught at a later stage, the Board decided that the experiment proposed by the Madras Government should be watched. The Board also considered the report of the Vice-Chancellors' Committee on the medium of instruction at the University stage which recommend that the *status quo* should be maintained for five years after which the regional languages should gradually replace English as the medium of instruction in the Universities. The Board decided to defer the consideration of this question until after the University Commission appointed by the Government of India had made its recommendation. It however, recommended that the change-over from English to the regional language should be very gradual so as not to affect the efficiency of University education. It was also decided that the teaching of the federal language should be started at the end of the junior basic stage and should be compulsory through the pre-secondary stage but may be optional thereafter. The federal language should be made compulsory at the secondary stage when English ceases to be the medium of instruction in the Universities.

The question as to what is to be the federal language of India still hangs in the balance. The controversy over this issue has not yet subsided. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, has recently contributed a thoughtful statement on the subject which has created much interest throughout the country.

Language Problem :

" I am distressed " says the Prime Minister, " at the way this question of language is considered and debated in India to day. There is little of scholarship behind this argument and less of culture. There is no vision or thought of the future. Language is looked upon more as a kind of extended journalism and a perverted nationalism demands that it should be made as narrow and restricted as possible. Any attempt to expand it is branded as a sin against this form of nationalism. Beauty in a language is often supposed to be an extreme ornateness and the use of long and complicated words. There is little vigour or dignity in evidence and one gets the impression of extreme superficiality and shallowness. Just as poetry is not a mere collection of rhymes and metres, so also a language is not just a display of intricate and difficult words. Recent attempts to translate well-known common words from English are fantastic in the extreme. If this tendency persists that surely is a murder of a fine vehicle for the expression of thought." After referring to Sanskrit as the ' finest heritage ' of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed " Persian has played an important role in the last few centuries in developing some of our provincial languages, more especially Hindustani, and has affected our ways of thinking also to some extent. That is an acquisition and it makes us richer to that extent." Pandit Nehru deprecated the idea of excluding everything which is Persian, and so he wrote " In any event a few hundred years of history and the life of the people have fashioned us for what we are and it seems to me rather absurd and certainly unwise to try to undo this work of history." He added further " From the cultural point of view, such an attempt at undoing and going back would mean depriving us of a cultural heritage, which we possessed. It would mean making ourselves poorer. We should rather aim at richness and at accepting whatever adds to that cultural content. Therefore any attempt at excluding what we have already absorbed is wrong from every point of view." And then Pandit Nehru pleaded for Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of India. As for the script, he expressed, it is clear that the Nagari script will be the dominant script, " But, again, because I think it wrong to be exclusive, both from the cultural and political point of view, I think that the Urdu script should be recognised and taught, where desired. We cannot ask all people to learn both these scripts. That is too much of a burden. But the Urdu script should be recognised more especially for a presentation of documents and other papers and for teaching in school where a sufficient number desires it."

Whether it is the name or the language itself, Hindustani is not favoured by the protagonists of Hindi who are also opposed to the Urdu script. In the U. P., which Urdu once claimed as its homeland, the script has been banished from almost all offices, courts and educational institutions. The names of Railway stations written in the Urdu script have been removed and replaced by names written in the Devnagri script. This antipathy towards Urdu has provoked Mr. Mushruwala, the Editor of the late Mahatma Gandhi's Journal, 'The Harijan,' to write an article in which he has characterised this attitude as contrary to the teachings and wishes of the Father of the Indian Nation. Similarly, considerable surprise was caused by the Allahabad High Court having passed an order that no one could enrol himself as a practising lawyer at the High Court unless he had sufficient knowledge of Urdu. This order has been criticised severely at a meeting of the U. P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (*vide The Statesman*, April 19, p. 5). The Jami'at-ul-'Ulema-i-Hind, a nationalist organisation, held its annual session in Lucknow in the third week of April, and, in the course of his Presidential Address, Moulana Hussain Ahmed Madani supported Hindustani in both Devnagri and Urdu scripts and remarked that he supported Hindustani as it was a language which 'had been born and grown up in India and was the mother tongue of millions of Hindus as well as Muslims in Northern India. He called upon the workers of the Jami'at to popularise the Devnagri script among the Muslims. The session of the Jami'at was addressed also by the Hon'ble Govind Vallabh Pant, the Premier of the U. P. He referred to the question of script and said that the Devnagri script was easier and could be followed by the majority of the people even in rural areas (*The Statesman*, April 19, p. 7). On the same day on which the Jami'at held its session, the U. P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan met (also in Lucknow) and passed a resolution recommending to the Constituent Assembly that Hindi in the Devnagri script be adopted without delay as the *lingua franca* of India. The resolution said that India had only one culture, originating from the ancient past, which had given strength and courage to the Indian people, and Hindi in the Devnagri script was the symbol of that culture. Mr. Purshottam Das Tandon, Speaker of the U. P. Assembly, supporting the resolution, said that next to Chinese and English, Hindi was the most widely known language in the world. By another resolution the Sammelan recommended to the Government that since Hindi was the mother tongue of the Province, primary education should be imparted in Hindi and the Provincial Government should issue a stern warning to such Government servants as are not using Hindi in official records that unless they change their anti-Hindi attitude they could not remain in service. (*The Statesman*, April 19, p. 5). Manbhum district in Bihar is stated to be predominantly inhabited by Bengali-speaking people who allege that Hindi is being thrust upon them. In laying the foundation-stone of the Central Institute of Education near Delhi University on April 18, the Prime Minister of

India said : " It is misfortune of Hindi that it has collected round it some advocates who continually do tremendous injury to its cause by advocating it in a wrong way. It is extraordinary how some of the advocates of Hindi have succeeded often enough in prejudicing Hindi in the eyes of others, some people because they have proceeded in the wrong way and some people because they have shown how narrow-minded they are. It is not that they love Hindi so much but they hate other things. Hatred is not a constructive force or a force that should come into play in such a question." Pandit Nehru remarked, " Excited speeches are delivered occasionally as to whether the national language should be Hindi or Hindustani. Urdu is hardly referred to and has dropped out of the race." (*The Statesman*, April 20, p. 7).

Bihar Urdu Conference

This Conference, held on the 24th and 25th April at Patna under the Presidentship of Lady Anisa Imam, was inaugurated by the Prime Minister of Bihar who, in the course of his speech, assured his audience that during his regime Urdu would receive protection from the Government and would flourish side by side with Hindi. He remarked that though he was at first a bit disconcerted by the request to inaugurate the Conference since he was not as conversant with the rich and sweet heritage of Urdu as he would like to be, yet he took courage from the fact that as a Bihari he was proud that in the past the Province had played a prominent role in the development of Urdu. Recounting that some of the earliest efforts at propagating and developing the language were carried on in Bihar by a faqir and his disciples more than five hundred years ago, he said that even Ghalib modelled his poetry on the tradition of Bedil, who was a Bihari. In independent India, the Premier continued, there could be no question of the vital importance of Urdu as a language since generations of great scholars and poets like Dagh, Hali, and Ghalib have by popularising and refining the language already guaranteed its future. But it was unfortunate, he said, that in the Provinces, west of Bihar people attempted to belittle the role of Bihar and her contribution. Though the language spoken in the United Provinces, is acclaimed for its sweetness and though Delhi has been in the vanguard of its development, yet it is often forgotten that, even before the pre-eminence of Delhi, it was in Bihar that the basis of its future development was laid and even today Urdu in Bihar was in no wise behind the U.P. and Oudh in its development. In free India, the Premier said, it was proper to promote the language of Akbar, and he assured his audience that he would not lag behind anyone in doing so. This, he said, was of vital importance if we were to incorporate the heritage of world culture in our Indian languages. He did not propose to go into the Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani controversy which was fraught with many a pitfall, but he maintained that Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani were still

incompetent to replace English in India. They were too poor to be the vehicle of higher studies and expression. (*The Searchlight*, Patna, April 24, pp. 1, 8).

The Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Ansari, Minister for P.W.D., Bihar, said in his inaugural speech at the *Mushā'ira* section of the Urdu Conference: "It is absolutely wrong to suggest that Urdu is the language of one community or the other. It has developed and gathered strength by the joint endeavours of both Hindus and Muslims and depicts what is best in the cultures of both. Some of the greatest poets and writers of Urdu in the past have been Hindus and even today some of its best patrons and admirers are Hindus." Lady Anis Iman said in her Presidential Address: "It was the British rulers who set up Urdu and Hindi as rival languages. Yet it was English and not Hindi or Urdu which enjoyed the place of honour. Urdu, according to Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, is not confined to any religion or community but has the capacity of becoming the common language of the country. Urdu has a great historical importance, for it was the legacy of that golden period when Hindus and Muslims in peace, amity and harmony, were serving the cause of knowledge and literature."

An exhibition was also held under the auspices of the Urdu Conference. It was opened by Mr. C. P. N. Sinha, the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, who, in course of his speech, said that there was no controversy in regard to language in his University. Text-books, prescribed by the University, were written in easy and simple language and printed in both Devnagri and Urdu scripts. He told his audience that in his personal collection he had a number of Persian and Arabic books which he wanted to present to some library. The Patna University was trying to collect old Persian and Arabic books under the supervision of Mr. Hassan Askari, Assistant Professor, History Department, Patna College.

A novel feature of the Urdu Conference was the *Ruhun Ka Mushā'ira*, i.e., symposium of the dead poets of Bihar. The poets represented in this *Mushā'ira* were Ram Narayan Lal Mouzūn, Kalyan Singh 'Āshiq, Ujagar Chand Ulfat, Josh 'Azimabadi, Dildar Arvi, Raza 'Azimabadi, *Shorish* 'Azimabadi, Fidwi 'Azimabadi, *Rasikh* 'Azimabadi, Munshi Gangalal Damagh, *Shauq* Nimwi, *Aḥqar* Bihari, *Safir* Bilgrami, *Hafiz* Latifi, and *Aḥad* 'Azimabadi.

FOREIGN

EGYPT

Fu'ād I Arabic Academy :

THE ARABIC ACADEMY in its last session approved the specimen of the great Arabic Lexicon which they were preparing and has proceeded a long way towards the completion of a medium-sized dictionary called al-Mu'jam-al-Wasīṭ. During the course of the session, Prof. Massignon acquainted the members with the latest methods used in the compilation and preparation of dictionaries in European languages and hoped that the points made out by him will be borne in mind while bringing out the Arabic dictionaries under preparation. Among the other subjects discussed during the last session of the academy were :

1. A valuable discourse on the present-day literary renaissance in Islam.

2. The ways and means of simplifying the Arabic grammar and the new rules of orthography.

3. In regard to the coinage of new words for things of modern civilization, Prof. Aḥmed Amīn, the famous Egyptian writer roused great interest by sponsoring a proposal that analogy (al-qiās) be adopted as a principle for the same. In classical times, there were two schools of thought, the one insisting on the actual use of a particular word by the Arabs for its adoption while the other regarded mere conformity to standard forms as enough for the purpose. The present-day needs favoured the latter point of view.

The academy is also bringing out under its auspices scholarly editions of the following books :

1. Sin'āt-ul 'Arab by Ibn Jinnī.

2. Al-Jalis al-Ṣāliḥ by al-Qāḍi Abul Faraj ibn Zakariyya al-Nahrawānī.

Among recent publications the following are worth mentioning :

1. Jamhartu Ansāb-il-'Arab by Ibn Ḥazm ; Ed. by Prof. Levy Provencal.

2. Majālisu Tha'lab, ed. by Prof. 'Abdus Salām Hārūn.

3. Diwān-al-Hudhaliyyīn, Part II, published by Dār-ul-Kutub.

The Dār-al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya is also bringing out very soon an edition of :

1. Diwān of Ka'b-ibn-Zuhair.

2. Diwān of Suhaim 'Abd-Bani-al-Ḥashās prepared by Prof. 'Abdul 'Azīz al-Maimanī of Aligarh.

A Linguistic Commission :

Dr. 'Abdul Wahhāb 'Azzām, Egypt's Ambassador at Jedda, has put forward a proposal to organise a linguistic commission to proceed to Arabia and to investigate the names of plants and flowers current at present with a view to collating them with classical words in the old lexicons.

Scholarly Papers on Iqbāl :

On the occasion of Iqbāl Day celebrations held in the Oriental Hall of the American University in Cairo, Prof. 'Uṭhmān Amīn of the Fu'ād I University, read a scholarly paper on the philosophy of Iqbāl describing the poet-philosopher's contribution in reconciling religion with philosophy and drawing parallels between his views and those of Mufti Muḥd. 'Abduh on many a point. Al-Ustādh Ṣāwī Shalān of Azher presented in this meeting his Arabic verse-translation of Iqbāl's poetry.

Revised Edition of the Encyclopædia of Islam :

A number of orientalist held a meeting in the University of Leiden to devise ways and means of giving effect to the decision taken at the last session of the world congress of orientalist to bring out a revised and enlarged edition of the Encyclopædia of Islam. It was decided at the meeting to bring out the new edition in five volumes within a period of ten years beginning from 1950. It may also be mentioned here that, according to reports from Turkey, a Turkish translation of the Encyclopædia is under preparation. It has also been urged in the Cairo press that work on the Arabic version, which was stopped some time ago may also be resumed.

Cultural Organisation of the Arab League :

The manuscript section of the Cultural Organisation of the Arab League, instituted in 1946 with the object of collecting and preserving Arabic MSS. scattered over various countries has so far photographed not less than half a million MSS., in Aleppo, Damascus, Alexandria and other towns. A delegation has also been sent out to Turkey to examine and

photograph the MSS. preserved in the libraries of that country. The Turkish government kindly agreed to provide all facilities to the delegation.

S. Y.

TURKEY

Turkey veering back to mosque :

A REVIVAL of religious feeling repressed since Turkey became a lay republic twenty-five years ago is today slowly making itself felt in the country's public life and forcing concessions from the Kemalist principle of the lay state. The decisions taken in this regard are as follows :

1. Reintroduction of Islamic religious tuition in primary schools.
2. Government's acceptance of plans to create special state schools in principal towns for Imams and Khatibs.
3. Government's acceptance of the principle of reopening an Islamic theological school.

In search of Noah's Ark :

According to Mr. Egerton Sykes, explorer and Fellow of the British Royal Geographical Society, London, more than 13,000 feet up the 17,600 feet high Mount Ararat in Northern Turkey are the remains of Noah's Ark—a ship built by the prophet thousands of years ago in which he and his family survived the Great Flood said to have overwhelmed the world in those times. Mr. Egerton Sykes proposes to search for what he describes as "one of the world's greatest religious relics." He is certain that he shall find some traces of the vessel, possibly the ship's keel and a few side timbers. Travellers throughout the ages have constantly referred to its presence and it is mentioned in innumerable records, some dating back to dozens of centuries. For decades the near-by inhabitants are said to have taken the wood from the Ark to use as amulets to ward off the 'evil eye.' The only thing likely to make the discovery impossible will be an exceptionally bad summer. If the snow line has not moved up, the Ark will be buried. But if the weather is normal, those few fragments of timber which will mean so much to the civilized world will be found. The age of the wood can easily be established by a special apparatus. Around the 13,000 feet of Ararat there are traces of sea shells—the evidence of a huge inundation which overwhelmed that part of the world in ancient times. Somewhere along the watermark should be the Ark.¹

1. The Star of India, January 31, 1949.

AMERICA

The Washington Mosque Foundation :

The corner-stone of the first mosque to be built in Washington was laid on February 7, 1949 on the 1379th anniversary of the Prophet's Birthday. The mosque is designed according to purely Arabic architectural characteristics. It is being erected under the auspices of the Washington Mosque Foundations founded by members of the Arab communities in the U.S.A. The structure also will house an Islamic Culture institution with facilities for students.¹

S. S.

The Ismā'īliya Association :

THE ISMĀ'ILIA ASSOCIATION, W. Pakistan has been established at Karachi. The aim of the Association is to do research work in Ismā'ilism and the Fāṭimid period of Muslim history.

Research in this period of the history of Islam has been very much neglected. It is only recently that scholars like W. Ivanow, Louis Massignon and A. A. A. Fyzee have written about Fāṭimid history and Ismā'ilism and translated some of their books. Dr. Kamil Husein of the Faud ul Awwal University of Cairo who is a great scholar of Ismā'ilism has recently started a Fāṭimid series called سلسلة المخطوطات الفاطمية. In his introduction to المجالس المستندرية which he has edited and published from old manuscripts he writes, "A thorough study of Ismailism will reveal to us a new realm of knowledge about the movements of mental currents of the intellectual life in Islam. This is the reason why I have published this book." At another place he says, "A study of Ismailism and its ancient missions will be of help to us in knowing the evolution that came over the intellectual Islamic life in fifth, sixth and seventh centuries of Hīgra."

Recently in the Faud ul Awwal University of Cairo a study of Isma'ili doctrines and philosophy has been introduced.

The Ismā'īliya Association research work in the light of the above remarks will be of great interest to all. Prof. Jawad Muscati an Arabic scholar from Najaf is translating into English المجالس المستندرية and كتاب الهمم في آداب اتباع الائمة (مقاصد نعمان المغرب) by Qāḍi Na'mān. They will soon be published by the Ismā'īliya Association.

1. The Statesman, May 2, 1949.

The English translation of Dr. Kamil Husein's speech delivered at Paris on 29th July, 1948, in the 21st Orientalists' Conference, on the "Theory of 'Matter' and 'Spirit' and its influence on the Egyptian poetry of the Fātimid period" will soon be published in the pages of this journal.

The Association has collected very rare Arabic manuscripts of the Fātimid period, the publication of which will unfold many new ideas and reveal to scholars facts which hitherto have been misrepresented. This will also put forth Ismā'ili philosophy and doctrine in its true form and will correct the wrong notions that are the result of false propaganda.

K. S.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

Sukumar Ray: *HUMAYUN IN PERSIA*, with a foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar; R.A.S.B. Monograph Series, vol. VI; 1948; xvi+116 pp.; price Rs. 5/; Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

IT is not often that we come across a work which is based on research and is at the same time interesting to an average layman, and Professor Ray's present essay is one of such books. Humāyūn's sojourn of more than two years in Irān as the guest of Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafavī is one of those episodes which are generally ignored both by the Indian and the Persian chroniclers, because while the Indian chronicler mostly concentrates on what is happening in his own country, the Persian chroniclers have little space to devote to a sovereign who had lost an empire and who was in their country to ask for help from the Shāhīnshāh. The same may be true of the lay reader, as ordinarily he would not be much interested in an exiled monarch who was meek to the point of weakness and who proved no match for a stalwart like Shēr Shāh, himself one of the greatest figures of medieval India.

Yet Prof. Ray has made the narrative absorbingly interesting in spite of the vast detail he has managed to embody in the book. He takes Humāyūn, stage by stage, almost road by road, through Baluchistan via Sibi and Quetta to Hirāt, Maghhad and Qazwīn and back

more or less by the same route. He has fully examined the chronology of the whole journey, and it is only when he is satisfied by the corroboration of authorities or else by definite evidence that he sets down a date for an episode. Some highly interesting letters are given in original as well as with their translation and each of these is also critically examined. Such are the letters from Humāyūn to the Shāh asking his permission to enter his dominions, and another one asking permission to visit "the Holy Sepulchre, the mausoleum of the Imām, nourisher of the poor, the holy king, 'Alī bin Mūsā al-Riḍa—thousands of benedictions and peace upon him." The letters of the Shāh to Humāyūn and to his own governors are interesting for in them the greatest possible respect is shown to the honoured guest and full instructions to the minutest detail are given to the Imperial officers to accord him a right royal reception. They also show the grandeur that was Persia in those days and "the studied display with which Humayun was received in Irān."

In spite of all this we are beset with the strange phenomenon of a complete estrangement of the host and the guest during Humāyūn's stay at Qazwīn about September and October, 1544. The learned author analyses the causes of the episode and comes to the conclusion that the reason was neither dynastic nor political but religious, and it was only after the conversion of Humāyūn to the

Shī'ī creed that the estrangement gave place to mutual regard. One feels that Prof. Ray's argument needs revision, as, while on the one hand the episode is not mentioned in most of the Indian and Persian chronicles, on the other we are aware that Humāyūn was never antagonistic to the Shī'ī principles and showed his clear inclinations towards that faith in his letter to the Shāh asking his permission to visit Mashhad. This was but natural as both his mother Māham Bēgam and his wife Hamidah Bānū Bēgam were Shī'ah and his courtier and adviser, Bairam Khān also belonged to that faith. There is the story of the signing of three sheets of paper which resulted in the cementing of friendship between the two monarchs, a friendship which kept on even after Qandhār had been wrested from the Persians by Humāyūn in 1445. It is assumed that the papers contained a catechism of the Shī'ah creed, but there is no evidence of the surmise, and apart from the incongruity of there being three separate sheets the need for such signatures is not obvious as Humāyūn's inclinations were well known. We may well surmise that the Shāh simply wanted to show the exiled monarch that he should not consider his sojourn in Irān as merely milk and honey but should know his real status and his dependence on him.

The author rather belittles the results of Humāyūn's exile when he says that "It was not altogether barren in its results." As a matter of fact while, politically, a reconquest of Hindustān would have been impossible without Humāyūn's prolonged visit to the Shāh's dominions, it was in another way beneficial not only to the dynasty but to India as well. We know that one of the causes of Akbar's greatness was his broadbased policy in the matter of religion and to his truly cosmopolitan spirit. This was due to a number of causes. Shēr Shāh's beneficent rule to which Akbar succeeded in a way was partly responsible for it as also was the Bhakti movement which was the result of the deep contact between Islam and Hinduism. But if we were to probe further into the causes of the phenomenon

we would trace it to the adversity and wanderings of Akbar's parents as well as perhaps to Humāyūn's own spirit of broad toleration and acceptance of what he regarded as best in others. Here was the germ of a real breadth of vision which was to grow to great heights at the hands of the Emperor Akbar, and which was in effect one of the direct results of Humāyūn's sojourn in Irān.

The book becomes doubly interesting to a student of the history of the Deccan as a part of it is based on the personal testimony of Khūr Shāh b. Qubādu'l-Husainī, the ambassador of Burhān Nizam Shāh of Ahmadnagar to the Court of Persia. Khūr Shāh's famous *Tārīkh-i Ilchī-i Nizām Shāh* is "of special importance on account of his long stay in Irān." The learned author of the book under review has added notes on this as well as on 59 other authorities bearing on the subject, including a fairly long note on Jauhar Aftābchī's *Tadhkiratu'l-Wāqī'āt* which must be regarded as "the most trustworthy authority" of Humāyūn's sojourn in Irān.

There is little to be desired in the book except a map of the itinerary of Humāyūn to and from Irān which would have made the book even more interesting. One must admire the neat and almost flawless printing and get up of the book, especially when diacritical points have been used in abundance.

H. K. S.

MURAQEBAT; by Dr. Mir Waliuddin, Professor of Philosophy, Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan; published by the Educational Conference, Hyderabad Deccan; Rs. 2/8/-.

THE book under review is Dr. Waliuddin's latest contribution to the deeper aspects of religious life. The theme of this book may be summed up in a few words. He says there is no use having a lip faith in God. Those who have well-reasoned and deep-seated faith in One Supreme Reality Who is called by various names, should have no fear of

anything. If once a man establishes his relation with the source of his being who is the Giver of all goods, most beneficent, most merciful, most powerful, all-seeing, all-knowing, God can surely confer on him all that he prays for provided he prays to Him sincerely and surrenders to His will completely. There is nothing which he cannot achieve through Divine grace because He loves His creation. He is ever ready to listen to the prayers of His devotees. The Benevolence of the Lord is said to work in ways too difficult to grasp, since they do not follow any man-made laws; at the same time it affects the lives of the devotees profoundly. The Lord removes the barriers that stand between Him and His worshippers. He confers His Infinite blessings on His devotees and it may be even the highest goal of life. It is very interesting to note that even the most despised sinners and confirmed atheists sometimes come to receive the Grace of God. There is no power that can stand against God's love. The devotees have also a part to play in order to make them a fit recipient of the Divine grace. Islam points out that self-effort is also necessary however weak one may be. Attempts to lead a virtuous life will not go in vain, but will lead a person higher and higher in the life spiritual. All that we have to do is to purify our minds and hearts of vicious thoughts and tendencies. The Grace of God is the crown and consummation of religious duties piously practised. It is an end in itself and is capable of far-reaching influence on the lives of seekers of God throughout the world.

The writer has assigned seven topics for seven days to be meditated on and pondered over in such a way as to assimilate them and make them part of his inner being to be able to respond to and receive the inestimable privilege of close relationship with the Author of his being. He advises us to start this practice from Friday when one has to meditate on the Unity of God. Saturday is meant for the practice of contentment, Sunday for patience, Monday for thankfulness, Tuesday for prayer for

nearness to God, Wednesday for prayer for the attainment of livelihood and Thursday for the removal of fear and grief.

H. S.

TALES FROM EGYPTIAN LIFE :
translated by Dr. Denys Johnson Davies ;
published by the Renaissance Bookshop ;
9 sh ; Adly Pasha, Cairo.

T'ALES from Egyptian Life,' a small volume of short stories by Mahmoud Teymour Bey, translated by Denys Johnson Davies, with a foreword by 'Abdel Rahmān 'Azzām Pāsha, represents an attempt at depicting various facts of Egyptian life. Both in their content and form, the tales are characterised by a certain naivety. They present a 'keyhole view' of life whose picaresque quality reflects the general rather than the particular in human nature. Psycho-analytical studies like 'Paper Crown,' 'The Cripple,' 'The Return,' 'The Locked Door,' and 'Abu Arab' reveal the writer's catholicity of approach and preoccupation with abnormality of character, while tales like 'The Rites of Ablution' and 'The Comedy of Death' are animated by a lively, though occasionally sardonic, humour. On the whole, they make an interesting reading.

F. H.

ISLAMIC RESEARCH ASSOCIATION MISCELLANY, vol. I, 1949 ;
published by A. A. A. Fyze for the Islamic Research Association, Bombay ;
printed by Norman A. Ellis, at the Baptist Mission Press, 41-A Lower Circular Road, Calcutta ; price Rs. 12-8-0.

THE Islamic Research Association has been quietly doing its useful work since its inception, and so far it has published twelve books.

The Executive Committee of the Islamic Research Association had decided to publish a volume of Oriental Studies as early as in 1943 to commemorate the tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the Association. But on account of

war the project failed and the Committee decided to try again on the fifteenth Anniversary in 1948.

After a good deal of deliberation the Committee decided that a volume of short contributions to Islamic Research be published not periodically but as occasion arose, and this volume is a beginning in this scheme of things. We owe it to the untiring zeal and interest of Prof. A. A. A. Fysee, Hon. Secretary, who, by the way, has recently been appointed as the Government of India's Ambassador to Egypt, for which we tender him our congratulations and best wishes. We sincerely congratulate the learned Professor for what he has done in the field of Islamic Research, and we earnestly hope he would continue to evince great interest in it.

The volume under review contains articles from eminent scholars:—

1. S. M. 'Abdullah: 'The value of Persian Poetry.'

2. A. J. Arberry, (Cambridge): 'New Material on the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm.'

3. Md. Hamidullah: 'Ex-Territorial Capitulation in favour of Muslims in Classical Times.'

4. Rev. Fr. H. Heras: 'A quotation from the words of Jesus Christ in one of the Emperor Akbar's inscription.'

5. M. Kāmil Hussain, (Cairo): 'Shiism in Egypt before the Fatimids.'

6. Bernard Lewis, (London): 'Specimens of Modern Turkish Poetry.'

7. A. Rashid: 'Shāh-jehān and Rāna of Udaipur.'

8. Ghulām Sarwar: 'Oriental MSS. in the Uch Dargah Library.'

9. R. Strothmann, (Hamburg): 'Kleinere Ismailitische Schriften.'

10. K. V. Zettersteen, (Uppsala): 'Selections from the Divan of Jamaluddin Ahmed Hansawi.'

11. Q. A. Wadood: 'Bad-i Mukhalif Ki Awwalin Riwayat.' (Urdu).

In view of shortage of space and time we fear we could not do any justice to this volume as a whole. However, the learned paper of Prof. A. J. Arberry deserves special notice. Recent litera-

ture on the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm that most valuable tenth century Bibliography of Arabic Literature, includes an article by Dr. H. Ritter and two separate contributions by Dr. J. Fück. Prof. A. J. Arberry when he learnt from Prof. F. Kahle that Dr. Fück was preparing a new edition on the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* for publication in the *Bibliotheca Islamica* and as Prof. Arberry was aware of the existence of an extremely old manuscript in the private collection of Mr. Chester Beatty, he readily offered his help to Dr. Fück. But due to War, the edition planned by Dr. Fück had not appeared and the *Bibliotheca Islamica* has for the time being ceased publication. Prof. A. J. Arberry took upon himself the onerous task of completing the work. As he says "Under these circumstances, I feel myself free, and in a sense obliged to place at the disposal of the world of scholarship, information about the Chester Beatty manuscript which I have hitherto kept to myself, limiting this disclosure however to modest proportions in order that Dr. Fück may yet have ample scope for enlarging these notes."

This is the spirit of a great scholar. We are grateful to him for giving to the world the Chester Beatty manuscript to which he has done ample justice.

Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J. needs no introduction. He is a great scholar who has to his credit a number of monumental works. We welcome him in the field of Islamic studies.

Upon the lintel of the door to the right, in the majestic alcove on the front of the famous Baland Darwaza of Fatehpur, there is an Arabic inscription wherein Emperor Akbar the Great records the conquest of Gujerat and Khandesh in 1010 H.E. (1602 A.D.). This inscription in Nasta'liq characters gave the successful Emperor the most laudatory titles, but then to counter-balance all the worldly glory that vanishes like a puff of smoke, he ordered the following words to be engraved which are like a sermon to the world of reality, a deep call to despise the material world and its vanity.

قال عيسى عليه السلام الدنيا قنطرة فاعبروها لانعمروها

This quotation is the theme of his subject to which he has done full justice. We feel that Rev. Fr. Heras should give us some more articles dealing with Islamic studies.

We congratulate the editor for placing before the scholars the Islamic Research Association Miscellany, which deserves a careful perusal, as it adds much to our knowledge.

K. S. L.

UNITED ASIA (International Magazine of Asian Affairs); 21-Noble Chambers, Fort, Bombay—1, vol. I, No. 7; editors, G. S. Pohekar and U. R. Rao; printed and published in India for Inter-Asian Publishing House; by V. V. Kamat at New Jack Printing Works Ltd., Bombay.

THERE is no dearth of monthly journals in India. But what strikes one is that this journal is unique not only in its get-up, but in the variety of articles of a high standard, covering no doubt, the continent of Asia.

Its good get-up, printing, excellent photo blocks makes one think twice whether it is an Indian product. If it is not superior, undoubtedly it is equal to its European contemporaries. We tender our congratulations to the editors and publishers. The objects of the journal are:

(a) The discussion of Asian affairs in a world context.

(b) The dissemination of Asian culture patterns.

(c) The advocacy of one Asia as a necessary prelude to one world.

This issue is a Middle East Number and the articles written as they are by eminent scholars deserve careful attention. Dr. Ilse Lichtenstadter, Associate Professor of Arabic, Asian Institute has-written on the "Development of Nationalism in the Early Islamic Empire." While the well-known Egyptian scholar Professor Abdurrahman Badaoui deals with "The Spiritual Crisis of Arab Youth." Mrs. Widad Sakakini of Damascus writes on "The Evolution of Syrian Women." "The Spirit of

Persian Painting by Behzad," indeed takes the reader on fancy flight to the court of the ancient Shāh to discover the secret of Persian Art, and is beautifully illustrated with select Persian Miniatures. Mr. Hafiz Syed writes on the "Elements of Islamic Mysticism." There are other articles of general interest.

We congratulate the editors for maintaining such a high standard of the United Asia. The journal is one of the best in India and is priced Rs. 2/- only.

K. S. L.

IBN-AS-SIKKIT; by S. A. Ahmedali; publisher Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; price Rs. 1-4-0.

THE small monograph on Ibn-as-Sikkīt (d. 244 A.H.) is a part of the author's introduction to the edition of *Islāh-al-Manṭiq* which he had submitted to the Oxford University for obtaining the degree of D.Phil. This pamphlet of thirty pages is divided into two sections. The first part describes Ibn-as-Sikkīt as a teacher, a grammarian of Kufi school, a philologist, an authority on ancient Arabic poetry and as a poet though not a professional one. The second part discusses briefly the position of Ibn-as-Sikkīt's teachers and the debt that the succeeding scholars owe to the scholarship of Ibn-as-Sikkīt. In addition to this, there is a list of Ibn-as-Sikkīt's works, note on *Islāh-al-Manṭiq* and its commentaries extending over ten pages. It is well-documented and shows the extent of original sources used in collecting the material. Its printing and get-up are more attractive than might be expected for a book of so little price. But besides the misprints, Arabic quotations are full of mistakes. Even the verses are unmetrical in the following places: page 21, lines 2, 3; page 22, lines 2, 3; page 30, line 3. It is hoped that these minor mistakes will be avoided in the revised edition of this biography of the great philologist.

A. M. K.

ERRATA

' ISLAMIC CULTURE ' VOL. XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2, CULTURAL ACTIVITIES, pp. 96, 97

P. 91, Footnote to line 3.

Khulāṣatu'l-Aḥbār, Bankipore, f. 218 a. From the following lines of Sayyid Hasan (India Office 931, ff 19b-20a) we know that Bahrām's another son Khusrāu Shāh had been to Khurāsān to conquer it, but I think he had also gone as a hostage to Sanjar's court in 530/1136:—

خدائے عز و جل با خدا یگان آن کرد به دور دولت بهرام شه که همت او در جلالت رونق ز آب دریا یافت معز دولت خسرو شه آن کزین هجرت خلیل وار چو فرزند خویش را خسرو بدوش باز رسانید دوستکام چنان کنون بگیرد عالم که قرۃ العینش	که هر گزان را والله شکر نتوان کرد ز گوئے خالک و خم چرخ گوئے و چوگان کرد گل سعادت منزل به صحن بستان کرد فسانه که زکیخسر و است برهان کرد به حق سپرد و حوالت به فضل یزدان کرد که دشمنان را بهر فداش قربان کرد خلیل وار شد و نصرت خراسان کرد
--	--

P. 96, para last but one :

line 3, correct name is Badi'-al-Zamān al-Jazari.

line 6, correct name is Bāb-al-Jayrūn.

line 8, correct name is Ibn Mājid.

Para last :

line 1, correct words are al-Nabāti, al-Ghāfiqi and ibn-al-Baytār's.

line 6, correct word is Ibn-al-'Awwam's.

P. 97

line 1, correct name is Al-Aṣma'i.

line 3, correct name is Al-Nazẓām.

line 4, correct name is Ibn-Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn-Yaqẓān.

NOTICE.

Manuscripts sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. They must be clearly typewritten on one side of the paper only. All communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Islamic Culture, P.O. Box 171, Yusuf Manzil, or 223, Adigmet, Hyderabad-Deccan.

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Complaints regarding the copies of the periodical not received must be intimated to us within one month of each quarterly issue so that enquiry for the missing copies in the postal department may be made in due time.

Reprints of the articles contributed may be supplied at the authors' expense. Contributors are requested to send orders for off-prints together with articles. As the printed text is decomposed one week after each publication, delays in orders may not be complied with.

Ed., I. C.

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NOTICE

As this issue completes the twenty-third volume of " ISLAMIC CULTURE," the next (January 1950) number of the Review will be sent per V.P.P. for Rs. 10 to those of our Indian subscribers who do not remit their current subscription by May 15, 1950. It is regretted that the subscription is slightly increased.

Ed., I. C.



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.-- Qur'an]

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FROM PARTICULARISM TO UNITY: RACE, NATIONALITY AND MINORITIES IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC EMPIRE

AS in the early Middle Ages, the Near East is gaining an importance of immediate impact for the western world. A process of consolidation seems to be taking place among the various groups of the Arab world. This line-up of the East, partly with, and partly directed against the West, is not a result of the second world war ; it began already before the first war, although it gained momentum only in the era between the wars.¹ The present leaders of the Arab states and their politics realize that now or never they will achieve their aims ; they also understand that only united action will gain for them a powerful position in the post-war world. The basis for this consolidation is twofold : the fight for freedom against the imperial and colonial powers—partly won—and the common heritage of Arabism and Islām. Politically the former is the more potent force ; the cultural and religious link of the latter has not yet proved strong enough to overcome all the rivalries between the various Arab states in favour of common deliberations and actions.

It is remarkable that the same forces which more than thirteen centuries ago proved their empire-building power are at work in a modern world and wrestling with modern problems. Once again one of the strongest impulses comes from Central Arabia, from a group which represents still, after thirteen hundred years, the pure virtue of Bedouin life and the unifying force of Islām. In more than one way Ibn Sa'ūd and his followers resemble the Prophet and his believers, and one may well ask whether the king of Sa'ūdī Arabia is not even consciously trying to emulate Muḥammad. The Prophet, in his time, was confronted with the task of creating a community whose members would feel consciously as a united body. From the cell of the small original Islamic community developed the mighty Islamic empire, stretching, at its zenith, from Spain to China and from Damascus to the shores of the Indian Ocean. Only

the Arab core of this earlier Islamic empire is struggling for unity now ; compared with the task confronting the Prophet in the seventh century A.D. that of the present-day leaders is child's play. They can build upon firm ground, upon the consciousness of their common racial and religious heritage. Muḥammad had to create even the most primitive feeling of loyalty to any group beyond the clan or tribe.

one of the most important factors in the present struggle for unity is the rivalry between various groups within this "Arab bloc " aggravated by the existence of some minorities in the territories and states it comprises. Therefore, a historical investigation of the antagonism and synergism instrumental in the formation and dissolution of the Islamic empire will not be without value. From its very beginning Islām had the task to integrate into one common cause the many historic claims and selfish interests of diverse racial and religious groups.

I

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

THE TRIBE

The society into which Muḥammad was born was held together but very loosely. The basis of the Arab community was the tribe and the Arab Bedouin knew no allegiance but to his family, clan, and tribe. Within the limits of this group, based on close kinship, each individual stood up for his fellow member and was responsible for his acts. This responsibility even meant paying with his own life for a crime committed by his kinsman ; the duty of *tha'r* (blood guilt and blood revenge) and *dīyah* (ransom instead of blood revenge) devolved upon each member of the tribe. Within the tribe was safety; to be excluded from this community meant to be outlawed and outcast.

The most cogent factor which held the tribes together was the assumption of their descent from a common ancestor ; for that reason, genealogy played an important role in the minds of the Bedouins ; in later times, the rivalry and jealousy between the tribes, partly based on genealogical fiction, became a factor in the cultural and political groupings in the Islamic empire. The growth of a tribe frequently brought about a division into branches and sub-tribes ; some even separated from the main body and roamed in different and distant parts of the country. Nonetheless, though the sub-tribe was cut off from the development of the parent group and went its own way, it remained conscious of its origin. The migratory life of the nomads, of course, favoured such a development. Thus, whole tribes of South Arabian origin had migrated into North Arabia but had remained South Arabians ; the Arab genealogists, in their scheme, acknowledge this fact and speak of Ma'add, a descendant of Ismā'il, and Qaḥṭān, the Biblical Yaḳṭān, as the eponyms of the North and South Arabian groups respectively.²

The Bedouin community has once aptly been called "ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit."³ This epithet, however, is correct only in regard to inter-tribal relations; each individual tribe was a closely-knit community with an internal organization based on unwritten laws but working efficiently through the force of tradition. Each tribe was a "state" in itself; its oldest and strongest member was its acknowledged head. Decisions of importance to the community as a whole were taken in the assembly in which each member had the right to speak his opinion freely.⁴ Although we do not know of any established procedure for the choice of a leader, he gained his position only by virtue of his personality. The pre-requisites for his election were the qualities of *mur'uwwa*, *virtus* in the Latin sense, virility, strength, physical, and spiritual force, and *hilm*, moderation, deliberation, clemency, and wisdom. He was also supposed to have the gift of eloquence.⁵ Such a man would assume leadership by the sheer force of his personality and the tribe would acknowledge his superiority. However, he would retain his leadership only as long as his companions would sense, and submit to, his superior strength; when his physical, and more important still, his intellectual and spiritual strength declined, the tribe no longer recognized his claim. If the old *saiyid's* son was as outstanding a personality as his father, he was his logical successor; yet there was no law of succession nor did he have any legal claim to the office or could he force the tribe into acknowledging him. The honour and dignity of a *saiyid* rested entirely in the individual.⁶

JIWĀR

A really outstanding leader, especially the head of a large and strong tribe, was able to extend his sphere of influence beyond its orbit.⁷ People who for one reason or another had to leave their own tribe would seek his protection.⁸ A man who lost his birthright of membership in and protection by his own tribe had no other means of security but by being received into the household of some man willing to accord him the safety guaranteed by his name and influence. The only alternative for him would be to lead the life of an outlaw and to take the law into his own hands.⁹

The *saiyid's* strength and reputation in the Arab world—which had its means of communication, by word of mouth, through poetry and *aiyām-tale*—decided the number of people who would ask to be accepted into his *jīwār* as his *jār*. Conversely, his influence and power grew in proportion to the number of his *jirān*. One important fact must not be overlooked: the *jār* remained free, he was neither a slave nor a *mawlā* (a manumitted slave or a client) of his protector. The moment his circumstances changed he was at liberty to go whenever and wherever he chose.¹⁰

This custom, born out of the necessity to make life more secure, was not expressed in a formal law, since there existed no code of law in ancient

Arabia. Like all other pre-Islamic institutions (if we may use this term at all) it derived its binding strength exclusively from the moral obligation of the two individuals who entered into the contract and to its tacit acknowledgment by the community. However, unconsciously, and at that time unrealized in its consequences, this crossing of the dividing lines between tribes was the first, though of course rather weak, impulse towards their development from isolation to union.

HILF

A much stronger factor was the *hilf*, an alliance of tribes not necessarily related by blood or of common ancestry. Such a league was concluded ceremoniously with due formality and under binding oath.¹¹ Legend has preserved the memory of certain Quraishite tribes, called *lā'iqat ad-damm*, "the blood-lickers," who enforced their oath by solemnly licking blood. In remote times of paganism this was their own; later the alliance was concluded by dipping their hands into a basin filled with the blood of a sacrificed camel. Gradually this sacral rite attenuated so that at last the allies dipped their hands into a basin filled with perfume or sprinkled each other with it.¹² Some such ceremony most probably accompanied the conclusion of a *hilf*-relationship throughout. The names of several groups which were allied for shorter or longer periods have been preserved; some of these grew into permanent alliances so that their group-name became their common appellation.¹³ Not all of these attempts at union had a political character: certain differences in the observation of the rituals of the pilgrimage underlay the formation of three groups, the *Hums*, the *Tulus*, and the *Hilla*, which each comprised quite a large number of Arab tribes; another group of Quraishites formed an organization for the protection of pilgrims during their stay in Mecca for the *hajj*.¹⁴

This institution of *hilf* represents an important step towards the unification of the Arab tribes. The antagonistic attitude of Islām towards it, expressed in the alleged saying of the Prophet: *lā hilf fi-l-Islām*, "there is no *hilf* in Islām," reflects the changed outlook of later generations. From their point of view, this institution strengthened isolationist tendencies and retarded the development of Islamic loyalties, while Islām aimed at the unification of all Arabs and all the conquered nationalities as equals within the community of Islām. In this endeavour it was handicapped by the remnants of tribal rivalries and pre-Islamic alignments still surviving.¹⁵

THE MAWLĀ

Another alien element was introduced into the tightly-knit tribal community by the so-called *mawālī* (pl. of *mawlā*), the manumitted slaves. Such a *mawlā* may have been a man of Arab blood enslaved as a prisoner

of war in one of the incessant raids or by gambling away his freedom in a game of *maisir* ; he may also have been an Abyssinian, a Persian, or Rūmī (Byzantine Christian) bought from the slave dealers and later freed by his master. He remained attached, as a client, to his former master's family and was regarded as a member of the family group in the wider sense. However, he never became a full member of his tribe, although the tribes were considerably strengthened by the presence of these *mawālī*.

Although the marriage of a free woman to a *mawla* was considered a *mésalliance*,¹⁶ a good deal of intermarriage did take place, especially since it was common practice to use slave women as concubines.¹⁷ In this society based upon blood relationship, marriage was mostly endogamous.¹⁸ The strength of a tribe was likely to be increased by such a marriage ; therefore, the bride was blessed by her *wali* (guardian), that is, her father or brother, in the following words : " Bear lightly and bring forth sons and do not bear daughters. May Allāh increase thy number and strength and endurance. Behave well, and honour thy husband, and may thy perfume be like sweet water." The sons of a woman married outside her tribe might become enemies of their maternal relatives ; therefore, the bride's *wali* addressed her thus : " Do not bear lightly and do not bring forth sons, for thou wilt bring near the remote people and bear enemies. Behave well and show love to those who are prohibited to thee (*i.e.*, the close relatives) for they have a watchful eye upon thee and a listening ear.¹⁹ May thy perfume not be like sweet water."²⁰

PARTICULARISM AND UNITY IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

Two very potent factors contributed to the development of unity amongst the Arab tribes : the institution of sacred truce during the holy months of the pilgrimage and the fairs. The best-known amongst them were the *hajj* to Mekka with its holy rites and the fair at 'Ukāz ; but there were many more sanctuaries dedicated to lesser deities and regional fairs frequented only by certain groups. The rites at the various sanctuaries differed in some details and the idols were not uniformly worshipped by all Arabs ; nonetheless, there was no feeling of religious differentiation between them. This is not due to the alleged indifference of the Arabs towards religion before the advent of Islām. The various forms of their religious incantations show the veneration of the Arabs for their gods and reveal their realization of man's dependence on divine help.²¹ The basic conceptions of religion were uniform throughout Arabia, notwithstanding the variety of gods worshipped.

The fairs attracted the tribes regardless of their general affiliation. They tended also to mitigate the differences between South and North Arabia, for South Arabian tribes flocked to the fairs held in the North, such as Dūmat al-Jandal and 'Ukāz, whereas the northern merchants

attended those in Ḥaḍramaut, 'Aden, and 'Umān. Such an intercourse was made possible through the institutions of *jiwār* and *ḥilf*. The visiting tribes were the guests of the groups into whose territories they temporarily migrated; for the duration of their stay they became their *ḥulafā*, and *jirān*. The host would also have the supervision of the fair; less often, it would be held under the auspices of a *saiyid*.²² Even foreigners, such as Persian merchants would attend the Arab fairs. Thus the latent tendency towards unification among the Arab tribes is manifest; they needed only the leadership of an outstanding personality and an inspiring cause to mould them into a nation.

RIVALRIES : HIJA', FAKHR

On the debit side of the ledger were the incessant petty wars and blood feuds which took their toll of Arab manhood and split Arab society into innumerable groups. Even the truce at the fairs was not always sacrosanct.²³ Each tribe was deeply conscious of its strength, the prowess of its members, the heroism of its ancestors; each individual member shared in this glory. Therefore, they praised their tribe and boasted of its glorious history; shameful acts of their rivals were welcome pretexts for attack. *Fakhr*, "praise," and *hijā'*, "defamation," are two characteristic topics in Arabic poetry; in the former, the poet extols himself, or his tribe, or eulogizes his own or an allied *saiyid*; in the *hijā'*, he taunts his adversaries by provoking an exaggerated derision of their weakness. *Hijā'* was considered one of the legitimate weapons in the constant battle for the survival of the fittest; in ancient times it was thought to hold magic powers which weakened the foe, and even in later times it was still forceful enough to turn Arab "public opinion" against the attacked tribe.²⁴ A development of the *hijā'* was the poetic dual, the *naqīda*, recriminating verses attacking the enemy and his countercharge in similar verses.²⁵

Even in later times, when Islām tried to abolish the rivalries and antagonisms of the Jāhiliya, their memory was still vivid enough to play a role in their political allegiance. Islamic poets remember their pagan ancestors with pride and their own prestige and standing in the community depended on it as it did for their pre-Islamic forefathers. The counterpart of the *naqīda* was the *mufākhara* or *munāfara*, a poetical boasting match between two poets; an umpire would act as a judge in such contests.²⁶ The parties used every variety of recrimination that came into their mind; neither the most personal affairs of a man nor peculiarities, alleged or real, of his tribe escaped the notice of the hostile critic.²⁷

THE PRE-ISLAMIC CITY

The basic tribal organization of the Arab nomad was also retained in the settlements, of which Mekka and Yathrib were the most important,

even in pre-Islamic times. In Mekka, which owed its eminence to its sanctuary, the Ka'bah, and to its situation on the trade route from the Mediterranean to India we find, if no organized "city government," at least signs of some concerted action where commerce and pilgrimage were concerned. Caravans were maintained and sent out by groups or by the whole community²⁸ and the organization of the *hajj* and the ceremonies connected with the cult of the Ka'bah also seem to have been a municipal affair. We hear of certain offices in connexion with this central institution of Mekkan life; the *siqāya* (office of dispensing water from the Zemzem-well), the *ḥijāba* (guardianship of the Ka'bah), the *nadwa* (assembly), *liwā'* (keeping of the banner) and the *riyāsa* (leadership) were held by certain Quraishite groups.²⁹

While the necessities of these two main activities forced the Mekkans, at an early time, to a co-ordination of their enterprises, conditions in Yathrib were nearly chaotic. The earliest settlers in this oasis were three Jewish tribes, the B. Naḍir, Quraiza, and Qainuqā', who owned extensive plantations. Two other large groups made up Yathrib's population, the Aus and the Khazraj, both originally hailing from South Arabia. These two large tribes with their many clans, subdivisions and *ḥulafā'* were engaged in a struggle of long standing in which also the Jews took sides. In the end, conditions in the city became so intolerable that both parties were glad to find, in Muḥammad, an impartial mediator for their affairs.³⁰ They turned to him attracted not so much by his religious message as by his reputation as an outstanding personality with a gift for leadership. The formula with which the emissaries from Yathrib paid homage and pledged themselves to Muḥammad reflects this attitude: "We pledged ourselves to the Prophet according to the pledge of women—that was before the obligation to fight was imposed—that we should not associate anything with Allāh, that we should not steal or commit adultery, that we should not kill our children nor spread libellous gossips of our own invention, and that we should not disobey in equitable matters."³¹ Except for the demand of monotheism, all these conditions are of a social and ethical nature.

II

MUḤAMMAD'S POLITICAL MISSION

MU'AKHĀT—UMMAT AL-ISLĀM—STATUTE OF MEDĪNAH

Thus, in spite of the prevailing particularism of tribal organization, the trend towards unification is clearly discernible in the social life of Arabia in the decades before Muḥammad. Although Muḥammad was

inspired in (or actuated in) his career by a religious impulse, this latent desire exerted an influence upon his mind. Consciously or unconsciously, he became the leader of the Arabs on their way to nation-hood. Though he couched his message in religious language—calling his fellow Arabs to the worship of Allāh, the One God, without a peer—it was bound to have repercussions in the social sphere. It was addressed to the Arabs as a whole, not only to his own compatriots, the Mekkans. He brought his *Qur'an 'arabi*, the Book revealed in the Arab's own tongue, to the whole Arabic-speaking world. This, of necessity, led him to conceive of Arabia as an undivided entity and to appeal to all Arabs to join the community of Muslims.³² In creating his *ummat al-Islām*, the community of Islām, he consciously abolished the dividing line between the tribes and disregarded the bonds of family and clan sanctified by tradition from time immemorial.

Even while yet struggling for recognition of his sacred mission in his native city, he created *mu'ākhāt*, "brotherhood," between some of his followers not related by blood, thus inaugurating an entirely new conception of communal relationship. These "brethren" were bound by a solemn oath to assist one another in every way like true brothers; *mu'ākhath* even had priority over genuine blood relations. In his early years at Medīnah, he instituted "brotherhood" between Medinians and Mekkan émigrés in an effort to wipe out the distinction between the natives and the newcomers, the *Muhājirūn*. Though this institution reflected an economic necessity, it was an essential factor in the creation of the Islamic community. It was Muḥammad's intention to abolish any distinction of origin or rank, to create an ummah in which no group should have rights or privileges withheld from another. It was a step of far-reaching influence, particularly since with the arrival of Muḥammad and his adherents a fourth bloc was added to the three already existing in Yathrib.

Muḥammad's genius overcame this difficulty which might have split the young movement irreparably. Even before the decisive battle of Badr, he succeeded in giving legal status to the *ummat al-Islām* through a manifesto which has been preserved.³³ This "Statute of Medīnah" explicitly includes every one of these Medinian groups and contrasts them with "the rest of mankind," *min duna-n-nās*, thus establishing the *ummat al-Islām*³⁴ as the political organization of Medīnah. Though the document consistently speaks of the *Mu'minūn*, "Believers," and *Muslimūn* "Muslims," it does not stipulate belief in Allāh and His Messenger as the exclusive condition for acceptance into this community. On the contrary, the surest sign of its genuineness is its inclusiveness and its lack of complicated religious terminology and ideology. A forged document would not have failed to stress its divine origin and the inspiration of its promoter. The statute even acknowledges the fact that there are still unbelievers, idolaters, in Medīnah; even they are included in the *ummah*, although they remain unconverted to Islām. They are only obliged to refrain from any connexion with the Quraish, at this stage the enemy *par*

excellence of the Muslims. This is added proof of its genuineness, for a forger would have gone out of his way to show that Islām was reigning universally and unchallenged in the city.

The statute tried to weld these divergent components into a working social organism under the guidance of Allāh through the leadership of the Prophet. Previous conditions were accepted and only modified so as not to disturb the growth of the *ummah*. The basic tribal set-up was not abolished, only the centrifugal forces were curbed and centripetal ones substituted. This tendency was expressed in terms of the contrast of believers and unbelievers (§§ 12-14);³⁵ the believers were to act in solidarity, even against unbelieving members of their own families (§§ 14,21,22). In cases of dispute they were to turn to the Prophet for arbitration (§23).

The main idea : *innahum ummatun wāḥidatun*, " verily, they are one community," is postulated throughout in various principles :

§ 15 : The protection (*dhimmah*) of Allāh is one and even the lowliest man by granting protection obliges every member to keep this obligation.

§ 17 : The conclusion of peace is binding upon all the believers ; no believer may conclude peace for himself excluding the other believers who are fighting for the cause of Allāh.³⁶

§ 44 : Mutual help is obligatory against any one who tries to crush Yathrib.

These paragraphs make it evident that the Prophet conceived of his *ummat al-Islām* as a body over against " the rest of mankind," *min duna-n-nāsi*, namely all those who did not, (or not yet) belong to it. From the very outset he received the Jews into this commonwealth ; they were to be an integral factor and a component of its constituency. Guaranteeing them explicitly freedom of religion, he granted them the same right to protection against their enemies outside the *ummah* ; the duties of war against its common enemies were imposed upon them with the same stringency as upon any other member of the Medinian community.³⁷ In their turn, they would receive help, and the non-Jewish members of the *ummah* were bound to desist from supporting any hostile act against the Jews.

§§ 25-31 : The Jews of the Banū 'Auf, etc., form one *ummah*³⁸ with the believers ; however, the Jews have their faith (*dīn*), their clients (*mawālī*) as well as they themselves. Excluded is only he who commits a crime or iniquity, but he only endangers himself and his family.

Even the problem of contributions to the cost of warfare received due consideration. The Muslims and the Jews had to pay separately for wars which did not affect the whole community ; but they shared the cost of such wars which concerned the *ahlu hādha-l-kitābi*, " the parties to this document " conjointly.

Two reasons underlay Muḥammad's endeavour to integrate the Jews into his community, as is evident from this document. Historically, the Jews were the earliest inhabitants of Yathrib and had only fairly lately become subservient to the South Arabian tribes which had settled there. More important still, at that stage in his development, he still saw in the Jews his natural allies and most likely followers. He was still under the illusion that his revelation was identical with theirs, and his Qur'ān an Arabic version of their *Taurāt*, either being the earthly counterpart, though in different languages, of the *Umm al-Kitāb*, the heavenly prototype of all revelation. Soon enough he was disillusioned by the Jews themselves who showed him his error. Only then did he recognize the danger of having such a strong and conscious adversary in the very midst of his *ummah*; he turned against them in order to rid his community of this hampering, dissenting member. It is perfectly clear why he had to use sharp measures against the Jews while remaining lenient towards the other potential adversaries, the *Kāfirūn* (unbelievers) and the *Munāfiqūn*, the hypocrites who pretended to be Muslims but in their hearts were not wholeheartedly with Muḥammad. He realized that the latter would not interfere with the inner development and consolidation of the Muslim community, and eventually would become its full-fledged members; the resistance of the Jews, on the other hand, had its source in unbridgeable difference of ideology and religious belief.³⁹

MUḤAMMAD'S CONCEPTION OF NATIONS.—UMMAH

As soon as Muḥammad became conscious of his mission as a "Warner" to his own people, he held up the fate of the peoples of earlier times as a warning example for his own contemporaries if they did not heed his message. Starting towards the end of the first Mekkan period and repeated even in Medīnah, the stories of 'Ād and Thamūd, of the peoples of Ṣāliḥ, of Nūḥ and of Ibrāhīm, are a recurrent theme of the Prophet's sermons: how Allāh sent His messengers to warn them of their impending doom, if they would not repent, and how they disregarded their message and were destroyed.⁴⁰

In the second Mekkan period when Muḥammad's thoughts began to crystallize and to centralize in a logical pattern, he found himself confronted with an intriguing problem. How did it happen, so he asked himself, that mankind was not unified but divided into many different "peoples" and "nations"? The Qur'ān mirrors faithfully the slow unfolding of the Prophet's conception of distinct ethnological and political groups. In the beginning, he took the ethnological differences and the variety of languages for granted; he felt himself called upon to bring to

the Arabs a *Qur'ānun 'arabiyun*, *Qur'ānun mubīnun*, "an Arabic Qur'ān, intelligible" to all Arabs. But from the second Mekkan period, this problem began to loom large in his mind. It is only in this period that the word *ummah* began to be used in the holy Book. At first, Muḥammad conceived of "nation" and "religion" as almost identical and used the word in both meanings. "Whenever its apostle came to any *nation*,⁴¹ they called him a liar" (sūrah 23, verse 46): "and the day will come when we gather from every *nation* a troop of those who said our signs were lies" (27.85). "No *nation* can hasten its appointed day nor delay it (15. 5)"--- implying the idea of the unavoidably fixed punishment which is repeated once more in the second Mekkan period (23.45), and twice in the third Mekkan period (7.32 ; 10.50). His spiritual quest is evident in sūrah 43, verse 21, (also of the second Mekkan period): "We found our fathers agreed upon one *religion* and verily, we are guided by their traces" (and similarly v.22). This was an argument actually used by his Mekkan adversaries which he put into the mouth of the spokesmen for the ancient peoples when they did not heed the warning of the apostles in their midst ; like them, the Mekkans would be "utterly destroyed" (v.22).

The word *ummah* in these verses takes on the meaning of "religious community," since at that early time Muḥammad did not yet think in political terms and had not yet seceded from his native group. His mental agony is reflected in the outcry: "Verily, this your *religion* is one *religion* and I am your Lord; so serve Me," *inna hādhihi ummatukum ummatun wāhidatun wa-ana rabbukum fa'buduni* (21. 92 ; 23. 54, reading "fear Me" instead of "serve Me"). However, Muḥammad was aware that even unity would not deliver them from their just punishment on the Day of Judgment, even though misbelievers might have enjoyed every pleasure on earth: "And but that men would then have been one *nation*, We would have made for those who misbelieve in the Merciful One roofs of silver for their houses. . . . but the hereafter is better with thy Lord for those who fear" (43.32ff.)

In the third Mekkan period, Muḥammad found the answer to his problem in his belief that every event is foreordained. It is Allāh's decree that mankind should be divided ; He Who has created the Universe could easily have unified mankind ; but He willed otherwise. "But if Allāh had pleased, He would have made you one *nation*" (15.95 ; 42.6 ; cf. Med. 5.53). Disagreement amongst men and their disbelief in Allāh's apostles helped to hasten disunity: "Had thy Lord pleased, He would have made man one *nation*, but they will not cease to differ save those thy Lord has mercy on" (11.20) ; "people were but one *nation* once, then they disagreed" (10.20 ; cf. Med. 2.209). The ancient Arabian tribal system helped him to understand this division: "And We (Allāh) cut them up into twelve tribes, each a *nation*" (7.160), and similarly (verse 167): "We cut them up in the earth into *nations* ; some of them are the righteous ones and others are the opposie."

Thus gradually Muḥammad gained a definite conception of *ummah* as social and political groups, different from one another though their fates may be similar. (see 16.94 ; 11.50). Each has its task ascribed to it (6.108). To emphasize this new-gained understanding he exclaimed : " There is not a beast upon the earth nor a bird that flies with both its wings but is a *nation* like to you " (6.38) ; even the *jinn* are a *nation* (7.36) proving the universality of this division into *ummat*. Thus the Prophet even used the word *ummah* once in this period as an equivalent for " tribe : " " And when he went down to the waters of Midyan, he found there a *nation* of people (*ummatan min an-nāsi*) watering their flocks " (28.22).

With this recognition, Muḥammad increasingly felt the urgency of his message to his people, and their vital need for salvation by following him. With it increased also his frustration by the continued resistance of most Mekkans to his call, among them the most influential leaders of the city. Therefore he tried to impress upon them more and more the terror of the impending doom by ever repeating the stories of the peoples of the past and their fate. " Every *nation* has its apostle " he cried (10. 48 ; 16. 38 ; 65), implying that he was the one sent to the Arabs ; " thus have We sent thee (*i.e.*, the Prophet) to a *nation* (*i.e.*, the Arabs) before which other *nations* have passed away " (13. 29 ; 6. 42). These were the witnesses from every *nation* to the omnipotence of Allāh (16 .48. 91 ; 28. 75 ; cf. Med. 2. 137 ; 4. 45). Though the *nations* were warned (35. 40), they disregarded Allāh's warning signs (34. 22) calling the messengers liars (29; 17) and scheming against them (40. 5). The sentence on the *nations* which We have passed (41. 24) was carried out in due time though Allāh sometimes seemingly let them enjoy life for a while until the appointed time came : " but some *nations* We will allow to enjoy prosperity . . . and then, woe " (11. 50 ; cf. 11.11). But when the " Hour " comes " He will say : Enter ye amongst the *nations* which have passed away before you both of *jinn* and men, into the fire ; whenever a *nation* enters therein, it curses its sister " (7. 36).

After his emigration to Medinah, new tasks awaited the Prophet, replacing the problems which seemed so all-important in Mekkah. In his Medinic period the Prophet refers only casually to the nations of antiquity and their fate (2. 122, 128, 135, 209 ; 3.100). However, the word *ummah* acquires a slightly different meaning. One of Muḥammad's most urgent problems, after Badr and *Khandaq*, was the hostility of the Jews towards him. Therefore he addressed them : " Ye were the best of *nations* brought forth unto men " (3.106), and even in his own time and in his own city he maintains " of the people of the Book (*i.e.*, the Jews) there is a group upright " (2.109), or again " amongst them (*i.e.*, the *ahl al-kitāb*) is a group that is moderate " (5.70). Somewhat later, approximately in the year 6 or 7 H., Muḥammad used the word *ummah* twice as equivalent to " religious group " : " To every *nation* have We appointed rites to mention the name of God " (22.35) and " for every *nation* have We made

rites which they observe " (22.66). This is reminiscent of the meaning in which the word is used in the second Mekkan period ; the stress is laid on its religious connotation which, in the early times, was related to its ethnologic sense.⁴²

By the time the Statute of Medīnah was drafted, before the battle of Badr, the meaning of the word *ummaḥ* in the Qur'ān had become unequivocally defined ; Muḥammad used it, with only slight fluctuations, in the sense of " religious and social group. " This is also its meaning in the two passages in which it occurs in the Statute : *innahum ummatun wāḥidatun min duna-n-nās*, " they are one *ummaḥ* over against the rest of mankind, " ⁴³ and *wa-inna Yahuda bani 'Aufin ummatun ma'a-l-Mu'minīna*, " the Jews of the B. 'Auf form one *ummaḥ* with the believers. " Since the granting of religious liberty to the Jews follows immediately after this statement, the emphasis in either passage is laid on the social rather than on the religious group. The interpretation of the word *ummaḥ*, in the Statute, as " community " is therefore justified.⁴⁴

MUḤAMMAD'S RACIAL TOLERANCE

For Muḥammad, racial differences were of no account. Even religious differences were of only minor importance as long as the people believed in Revelation and in one God. From this attitude is derived the Prophet's tolerance for other religious groups, specially the *ahl al-Kitāb*, whom he never persecuted for religious reasons. He even did not shun intermarriage.⁴⁵

Muḥammad exhorted his followers to be tolerant and not to consider themselves superior to others. The inherited tribal pride of the Arabs and their custom of boasting and self-praise may well have been hard for the Prophet to overcome. Only four verses of the Qur'ān (s. 49, 10-13) give evidence of this endeavour to promote tolerance ; they fit well into his basic conviction of the supremacy in the world of Allāh's decree. He demanded brotherhood among all believers : " The believers are but brothers, so make peace between your two brothers and fear God, haply you may attain mercy. " Then he continued : " Oh ye believers, let not one people (*qaum*) ridicule another who are perchance better than they ; nor let women ridicule other women who are perchance better than they ; and do not defame each other, nor call each other bad names—an ill name is inequity after (the profession of) faith, and they who do not repent are the wrongdoers. " The following verse is devoted to ethical admonitions ; then the Prophet continued : " Oh, ye folk, verily, We have created you of male and female, and made you races and tribes (*shu'aiban wa-qabā'ila*)⁴⁶ that ye may know each other. Verily, the most honourable of you in the sight of Allāh is the most pious of you : Allāh is Knowing, Aware. "

As often, the traditional explanations of these verses differ and they are supposed to refer to various persons and events.⁴⁷ Taken at their

face-value, they reflect Muḥammad's attitude towards the different strains from which his community was formed ; they should be shielded from discrimination and inequality of esteem in his community, whatever their origin or their social rank.⁴⁸ Even the women were their equals in the sight of Allāh, provided they were pious. The external sign of the diversity of races, the difference in language, was to Muḥammad's mind one of the " signs unto the world of Allāh's omnipotence " (s. 30.21).

The only other pronouncement of the Prophet's on this question of which we have knowledge is connected with the " Farewell Pilgrimage, " the Prophet's last *hajj* to Mekka. In the course of the sacred ceremonies Muḥammad, according to tradition, addressed the assembly in a solemn sermon which became known as the *khutbat al-wadā'*, " the leave-taking sermon. " ⁴⁹ His subject on this occasion allegedly was the sanctity of the *hajj*, the prohibition of usury and blood revenge, including any blood guilt still outstanding from the Jāhiliya, abolition of the intercalation of a month, and an exhortation to the believers to be just to their womenfolk. Then he allegedly continued : " Oh, ye people, hearken to my speech and deem it intelligent ; and proclaim (lit. teach) that every Muslim is a brother unto any other Muslim. All Muslims are brethren and no Muslim is allowed (to claim) from his brother but what he gave him out of the kindness of his soul ; but your souls are not deceived. Oh Allāh, have I not brought (Thy message) to them. " ⁵⁰

For the problem of this essay it is irrelevant, whether Ibn Ishāq and other historians have preserved the exact text of this sermon. The Prophet certainly did address the crowds at this second pilgrimage after the fall of Mekkah which he might have deemed decisive, even though he did not give any thought to the possibility of his death. As one of his last pronouncements, the Muslims attributed great importance to this sermon. On account of its sentiment, the postulate, in this *khutbah*, of universal brotherhood has been suspected of being an interpolation by *shu'ubiya* circles.⁵¹ Nonetheless, they tally well with the ideas underlying the Quranic verses on Muslim brotherhood (s. 30.21 ; 49.11,13) which are a genuine and unforged declaration of Muḥammad's own position in this question. Therefore whether interpolated or an echo of words actually spoken by Muḥammad on that memorable occasion, they are an interpretation of a true sentiment present in the Prophet's own message and at least once recorded uncontestably. The Quranic words themselves furnished one of the strongest supports of the claims of the *shu'ubiya* that all Muslims were equal in Islām, regardless of their racial or social origin.⁵²

III

UNITY AND PARTICULARISM IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC EMPIRE

By the time of the Prophet's death, the inner-Arabian consolidation had sufficiently progressed to be able to overcome the centrifugal forces

which threatened to break up the Islāmic community. The secession of a number of tribes from the Muslim group with its centre in Medinah was not, as the Muslim interpreters maintained from an early time, a retrogression (*riddah*) from the religious tenets of Islām, but a political attempt of independent, freedom-aspiring tribes to re-assert their particular tribal interests. The ability of the Muslim group to fight and defeat them shows the strength of the foundation for an Islamic state laid by Muḥammad; it proves furthermore that his creation was the logical outgrowth of tendencies leading to union in Arabia. His concepts and vocabulary were religious, the result political. Muḥammad himself was gradually forced by circumstances to stress the political implications and tendencies of his movement.

This process of unification could not even be interrupted by the fateful split which originated with the Prophet's death and was never healed. The Shi'ite party, with its various religious and political manifestations, hampered, but could not prevent, the growth of a Muslim commonwealth. The initial strength of the Muslims came from this newly-gained consciousness of unity; their overwhelming victories were won over empires, seemingly mighty, but divided by internal strife and weakened by their lack of cohesion. However, these astounding victories and the tremendous expansion of the Muslim sway carried dangers which eventually did prove fatal to the Islamic empire.

THE CONQUEST: FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM STATE

Even before Islām injected new purpose and applied a religious interpretation to the expansive activities of the Bedouins, the countries bordering the desert had been subjected to constant raids by Nomad tribes.⁵³ Islām co-ordinated these unorganized projections originating from economic pressure.⁵⁴ As a result, within a century, the Islamic empire stretched over thousands of square miles and comprised the most divergent elements, differing in race and language, in religious and cultural inheritance.

The task of forming a united Muslim community with a unified Muslim consciousness and outlook was tremendous. The Muslim had only one instrument for achieving this goal, the Qur'ān and the *sunnah*, "way" of the Prophet. The *sunnah*, in particular, became the basic principle from which all religious and legal concepts of late, post-Muhammadan, Islām were derived. Göldziher has shown, in an irrefutable manner, that the generations following the Prophet discussed their contemporary problems in terms of the Prophet's time; that alleged situations and discussions in Muḥammad's entourage and decisions attributed to him were held to be binding guides to the solution of their own "modern" problems. It began as an earnest search for authentic reports of Muḥammad's actions, sayings, and decisions, but it became later a *pia fraus* and eventually

developed into a systematic *ad hoc* invention of *ḥadīth*, serving any cause and settling any dispute.⁵⁵

In spite of the antagonism against it from many quarters, the Umayyad dynasty succeeded in creating a state based on Arabic tradition freshly interpreted in the light of Islām.⁵⁶ Whoever wished to be a part of it had to integrate himself into the existing Arab social organization, to embrace Islām, and to adopt the Arabic language. This is the origin of the *mawālī* class. New converts to Islām of non-Arab descent had to be affiliated as *mawālī* with an Arab tribe; only in this way were they recognized as members of the predominantly Arabic Muslim community. Neither the ruling group, the Arabs, nor the conquered people could conceive of any other way of being accepted into the fold; the ancient tribal tradition was still too forceful.⁵⁷

In theory, at least, the whole Islamic state was unified under the legal head, the caliph, and subject to the *sharī'a*, Islamic canon law, while Arabic was the medium of intercourse throughout the Islamic world. The *sharī'a* only recognized two spheres: the *dār al-Islām*, "abode of Islām," in which Islām held the sovereignty, and the *dār al-ḥarb*, "the abode of war," all regions not under Islamic jurisdiction.⁵⁸ In spite of the diversity of elements within the compass of Muslim rule, the members were conscious of this unity, even though it became, at least in later times, only a legal fiction. However much his actual power was curtailed, the caliph remained the figurehead of the Muslim empire, even up to the end of the first World War. The omission of the caliph's name from the coinage and the *khutbah*, the weekly sermon preached in the mosques during the Friday service, became the sign of insurrection and revolution.

Within the *dār al-Islām* only two groups were recognized. Those who had embraced Islām, regardless of race or former religious and political allegiance, were the first-class citizens of the Muslim state and carried the full burden of citizenship, conscious and proud of this privilege. It was reflected both in their religious and in their political status; as Muslims, they were bound to abide by all the laws and prescripts of their religion and had to answer for their religious conduct; as citizens they had their full share in the political obligations in practice that meant especially that they were the soldiers of the state and had to obey the call to arms.

Those who did not accept Islām were theoretically to be put to the sword. The *ahl al-kitāb* were not affected by this law; they were allowed to retain their faith and were only subjected to a head-tax (*jizyah*)⁵⁹ and, at times, to more or less humiliating restrictions and recriminations.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, they were part of the Islamic state, though citizens of a lower grade, with lesser rights, but, on the other hand, with lesser duties.⁶¹ The *sharī'a* protected them under the *'aqd adh-dhimmah*, "treaty of protection," wherever Muslim law was valid; it granted the *dhimmi* inviolability and circumscribed the political status of the *ahl adh-dhimmah* by definite laws.⁶² Since the Muslim state, in theory, was conceived as a theocracy

in which all law had its ultimate source in divine law, its obligations were of a religious rather than of a political character ; the *dhimmis*, as non-Muslims, were not subject to Muslim law, as far as their own internal affairs were concerned. As *ahl al-kitāb* they were allowed to live according to their own laws.⁶³ If, however, a Muslim was involved, Islamic law was applied to decide the litigation. Only the *kāfir*, the unbeliever, was outside the law.⁶⁴

Gradually, there developed a consciousness of the common Muslim heritage, in spite of all the centrifugal forces, whether political or religious. The most important factor in this development was the emergence of a common language.⁶⁵ Arabic was not only the language of divine service, the language of the Qur'ān and the *khutbah* ; it was the *lingua franca* throughout the Muslim empire and the medium of its scholarship and literature. Muslim authors, whether or not they were of Arab origin, wrote in Arabic, and gradually non-Muslim writers, too, used the Arabic language as the medium for their religious, philosophical, and scientific work, frequently writing it in the characters of their native language.⁶⁶ The annual *hajj* offered ample opportunity for contacts between Muslim believers from all parts of the empire and the common experience of huge masses of the Faithful of diverse backgrounds exerted deep influence upon the creation of a common Muslim consciousness.

ANTAGONISM AND POLEMICS AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE MUSLIM EMPIRE

(a) *Political Antagonism*

Nevertheless, the particularistic tendencies were still powerful enough to disturb and retard this process. Indeed, they were amongst the most potent factors in the eventual dissolution of the Muslim empire as a political entity. In the forefront was a religious question which caused political repercussions. Islām itself was not undivided. The problem of the succession to the Prophet had created dissension right after Muḥammad's death and within a decade developed into a serious rift with political implications. The party of 'Alī, *Shī'at 'Alī*, maintained that the caliphate ought to have gone to 'Alī ; since the Prophet had no son, this cousin and son-in-law of his was believed to carry on the Prophet's family. Such a legitimistic outlook was alien to the Arab's mind ; he was accustomed to a society where any one could assume leadership provided he had the necessary gifts. It was, however, in harmony with the outlook of many of the vanquished peoples who found in the *Shī'ite* viewpoints some elements of their traditional conceptions ; the *Shī'a* gained ground, therefore, particularly in the Persian provinces where, in its turn, it absorbed religious ideas foreign to Islām. The 'Abbāsīd aspirants to the caliphate did

not find it difficult to use the religious dissatisfaction of the *Shī'ites* for their political aims. Religion and politics, at that time, were not separate.⁶⁷

An additional disturbing factor was the continuation of the tribal rivalries in the cities to which large numbers of Arabs had been transplanted from their original desert abodes. They retained in their new surroundings their coherent tribal organization ; just as in the desert they had had their own pastures, in the cities they occupied distinct quarters (*ḥārah*).⁶⁸ There they carried on their ancient tribal feuds in traditional style although in a changed medium.⁶⁹ This rivalry and latent hostility of the Arab tribes was exploited by the political factions and their leaders ; it contributed to the unrest in the Muslim empire from its very beginning and throughout its history.

Only great personalities or leaders of particular skill in handling the tribes could subdue them, at least temporarily. They were fully aware of the necessity to subdue the tribal rivalries while at the same time making use of their strength. The address which Ziyād b. Abīhī delivered at his appointment as governor of Baṣra in the service of Mu'āwiya is very revealing. Using vigorous language, he admonished the people emphatically to forget their rivalries and to acknowledge the power of the state which was delegated to it by Allāh and represented Him :

"Have you not heard of the signs of Allāh and have you not read Allāh's Book and have you not heard how Allāh rewards obedience and painfully punishes disobedience, eternally and ever-lastingly ? . . . You push forward your relatives and relegate religion into the background. You condone things for which there is no excuse and you plunge headlong into secret crime. Each and every one of you, to the point of impudence, protects the action of people who fear no punishment and who have no hope for a future life. . . . But I swear by Allāh, I shall punish the partisan for the partisan, one who stays for one who flees, the healthy for the sick, until a man will meet his brother and say : "Save yourself, Oh Sa'd, for Sa'id has perished"—or until your lances will be lifted against me. . . So beware. And then, the claims of the Jāhiliya ! If I ever find any one advancing such claims, I shall cut out his tongue."⁷⁰

Thus the able leader was trying to promote unity among the various factions, carrying on the policy of his Prophet. Islām and religious terminology continued to be used in pursuing political aims, even as in Muḥammad's life-time political consolidation was one result of his religious message, while the masses remained unaware of its tremendous political implications.

The antagonisms were aggravated further by the influx of non-Arab races in the wake of the Muslim conquest. The farther the empire expanded eastward, the more alien elements it had to absorb. The Persians, Turks, Soghdians, and Dailamites of the conquered territories had to be subjugated and assimilated as Muslims, until at last many of them rose to high offices in the realm.⁷¹ Then the unavoidable jealousy began and

with it, in good old Arab fashion, the vilification in poetry and prose.⁷² Suffering as well as arrogance and pride appear in these verses :

"The free men are gone—they vanished and perished ; Time has left me amongst strange barbarians

People said : You are staying at home so much ! I said : because there is nothing gained in going about.

Whom do I meet when I look at them ? Monkeys riding on saddles.

There was a time when generosity was strong, until it was lifted to the highest tower " (but now that time has passed).⁷³

Another poem well expressed the disgust with which the former ruling caste regarded the loss of their former social and political prestige to the Turkish usurpers :

"We have departed for fear of the army and the Turk is there at our return ; and by Allāh, how the vicissitudes of Time push one around !

Our halls are narrow for fear that they may settle therein ; we enter by the door with bent head, as if we were Jews."⁷⁴

(b) Religious Polemics

This constant inner political struggle was paralleled by discussions between Muslims and non-Muslims. These had their roots in the Qur'ān and in Muḥammad's own attitude towards the other religions. But his simple recognition of the *ahl al-kitāb* as monotheists, and therefore entitled to respect and protection, was not subtle enough for the solution of the far more complicated problems of these later times. Political and religious issues were involved ; questions, such as *kharāj*⁷⁵ and *jizyah*, the land tax and the poll tax of the *dhimmi*, affected the relations between Muslim and non-Muslim, while in their religious discussions, the Muslims tried to establish the superiority of Islām over the other faiths.

Economic jealousies played a decisive role in the attitude of the Muslim toward the *dhimmi*. Though the latter was theoretically barred from holding public office, Jews as well as Christians were found in high positions throughout the empire ; outbursts of violence almost invariably had their ultimate source in the envy of the *dhimmi*'s greater riches and his financial and political influence with the rulers as a consequence.⁷⁶ The Muslims charged the viziers with favouring the *dhimmis* according to their own racial origin ; the speech which Naṣr b. Saiyār is reported to have made in Merw shows this clearly :

"He preached to the people and said : Bahrāmsīs [a Persian] used to prefer the Majūs and to favour them ; he released their share of the tax quota and loaded it upon the Muslims. Ashdād b. Jrijūr [Gregor] used to favour the Christians, and 'Aqība the Jew used to favour the Jews in just the same manner. I, however, will favour the

Muslims and lift from them their burden and load it upon the unbelievers. There will not be (a reduction) in the *kharāj*; it will have to be paid in full as it was fixed in writing and as it always was raised. But I shall appoint Maṣṣūr b. 'Umar b. Abi-l-Kharqā' and order him to be just with you. If any one of you Muslims had to pay the *jizyah* levied upon his head, or if the *kharāj* weighed heavily upon him while the unbelievers were taxed too lightly, then he may bring it before Maṣṣūr b. 'Umar who will remove it from the Muslim and charge it to the unbelievers."⁷⁷

The religious discussions between Islām, the state religion, and the two other monotheistic faiths, however intense, was of less political importance, since Judaism and Christianity were recognized by the state. The controversy was concerned with a philosophical and religious issue rather than a political one, fought passionately but with understanding on either side. The case for Islām was stated by both native Muslims and renegades to Islām who tried to show the superiority of Islām and its Prophet over their rivals. The universality of Muḥammad's mission was contrasted with the Jewish idea of the "Chosen People" and the Christian concepts of salvation through Grace. "It was the custom of the Prophet, whenever he addressed the people, to begin his speech with "peace and mercy" and he would not make a distinction between the *dhimmi* and the citizen⁷⁸ and none between believers and polytheists. He used to say: I was sent to bring good-will to the whole of mankind; I was not sent for rudeness and inhumanity."⁷⁹

Al-Kindī's *Risālah*, from which this passage is taken, is exceptional because of its conciliatory tone; the author hoped to convince his correspondent and induce him to acknowledge Muḥammad as the *khatam al-anbiyā'*, "the Seal of Prophets," and the Qur'ān as ranking over *Taurāt* and *Injīl*. The same tendency is revealed in the treatise by 'Alī aṭ-Ṭabarī,⁸⁰ a Muslim, though of Christian (some say Jewish) parentage, who would contend the moral superiority of the Muslim conceptions to those of the Bible. His argument runs as follows: While the Bible demands the death of any murderer, the Qur'ān only condemns a man to eternal hell after death if he killed a believer intentionally (*sūrah* 4, verse 95). Equally, the Qur'ān requires a witness to be a man "of equity," whereas the Bible requires the testimony of two witnesses regardless of their morals and ethics. Further, Moses ordered the B. Isrā'īl to curse any transgressor of the laws of the *Taurāt*; here again the Quranic attitude is superior, for it gives the sinner a chance to repent: "Those who, when they do a crime or wrong themselves, remember Allāh and ask for forgiveness for their sins... these have their reward: pardon from their Lord and gardens beneath which rivers flow" (s. 3, vv. 129ff.).⁸¹ The author likewise deprecated the moral attitude of the Gospels, praising the asceticism of 'Alī and the two 'Umars; he accused Simon Cephas of cursing a man who had sold his estate but brought him only part of the money. The author added a conciliatory phrase: "One is loth to impute avarice to the disciples of

Christ ; do not impute it to the disciples of Muḥammad.”⁸²

A Jewish convert to Islām took up the cudgel for his adopted faith ; he was neither learned nor unbiased and his attacks on his native religion are by no means of a high standard.⁸³ It seems that formal disputations took place between Muslim and non-Muslim theologians, some even in the presence of the caliph arranged at his initiative.⁸⁴ But even if the reports of such colloquies are not to be trusted, enough literature has survived to show the intensity of these discussions and the trend of thought of polemists and apologists on either side.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, there was never an attempt at mass conversion by force,⁸⁶ such as resulted from the Inquisition in Spain ; on the whole, the *dhimmis* were left alone and could follow their own pursuits unmolested. If they had any cause for complaint, they were entitled, under the legal concept of the *‘aql al-dhimmah* to impartial investigation and judgment of their cause.⁸⁷ As long as the *dhimmi* conformed to the prevailing conditions and fulfilled his duties, he was protected, and, theoretically at least, had nothing to fear.⁸⁸ On the whole, Muslim practice as well as Muslim law attempted to follow the ethical principle underlying the concept of *dhimmi* though sometimes the actualities of practical life forced the Muslim to fall short of the theories.⁸⁹

FROM EMPIRE TO NATIONAL STATES

Thus from its inception, the Muslim empire carried the germ of its ultimate decay in the variety of its members. The selfish interests, the urge for self-expression and self-determination, were latent in many of its heterogeneous components ; sooner or later, they would assert themselves so strongly that the only link that held them together would prove too feeble to resist. The caliphate, symbol of the unifying tendencies of the Islamic church and state, was only as powerful as its figurehead, the incumbent caliph, and his viziers and emirs. The cohesion was only guaranteed as long as the centre remained vigorous. In a very large measure, this depended on the impartiality of the Islamic idea and the caliph’s realization that he was a religious as well as a secular ruler. When the caliph began to rely on and favour one group to the detriment of the others, the universal appeal of Islām, which was religious as well as political, weakened and made room for particularistic claims.

This process began already before the advent of the ‘Abbāsides, yet it was intensified during their reign. The identity of church and state was lost and the caliph retained only his prestige as the head of Islām ; a *sultān* took over the actual power in the separatist states which resulted from this break-up of the Islamic empire.⁹⁰ The vitality of Islām itself proved to be strong enough eventually to absorb, as far as religion was concerned, the non-Muslims who overpowered the realm from outside.

In this process, the Islamic world was truly of the Middle Ages. The same conflict of two universalisms, that of the Church and of the State,

sacerdotium and *imperium*, which dominated the medieval western world, was effective, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Muslim East.⁹¹ This conflict led eventually to the formation of national states in Asia as well as in Europe.

It is, in particular, the attitude of Islām towards the religious minorities within its realm in which this medievalism manifests itself most. In early medieval Germany, for example, the Jew, in all essentials, was a member of the German community; he spoke the same language and even adopted, in spite of the protest of his leaders, the attire of his surroundings.⁹² He was neither outside the law, nor was he an alien. Only in so far as he did not profess Christianity, did medieval legislation discriminate against him. It was the Church, not the State, which excluded him as it excluded heretics and schismatics.⁹³ As the evidence shows, the *dhimmi* was in exactly the same position. In the East, as in the West, it was the Church, not the State, which discriminated against him.⁹⁴

In the Middle Ages, no less than at the present time, the Muslim East did not live in a vacuum, but had commercial and political intercourse with the West. This is evident from the commercial treaties between Muslim rulers and Western states;⁹⁵ thus problems which stirred the West were bound to resound in the domain of the caliphate. The similarity in their conceptions of religions and other minorities may be ultimately due to the influence on both Islām and the Christian Church of Roman law.⁹⁶

ILSE LICHTENSTADTER.

NOTES

1. For an excellent account of the nationalistic struggle in the Near East, see Hans Kohn, *Nationalismus und Imperialismus im Nahen Osten*, Frankfurt a.M., 1931, Idem, *A History of Nationalism and Imperialism in the Near East*, New York, 1929.

2. The Arabic scholars divide the Arabic tribes into three groups: the 'arab 'arība, the original Arabs pur-sang, descendants of Aram b. Sām b. Nūḥ, comprising seven, or, according to others, nine tribes: 'Ād, Thamūd, Umayyim, 'Abīl, Ṭasm, Jadīs, 'Inliq, Jurhum, and Wabār. They perished but for some remnants which were incorporated into other tribes. The second group were the *muta'arriba* who were originally not Arabs; they are the descendants of Qaḥṭān and settled in South Arabia; the third group were the *musta'riba*, originally non-Arabs as well. They were the North Arabians, and include the Quraish, Muhammad's tribe who, in this way, claimed to be the descendant of Ismā'il, the son of Ibrāhīm. Cp. *Encyclopædia of Islām*, s.v. *Muta'arriba*, *Musta'riba*, (by the author). This term is used much later for "native Egyptian Jews" in *Medieval Jewish Chronicles I*, ed. by A. Neubauer, Oxford, 1887, pp. 119, 127.

3. Title of an address delivered by Wellhausen, in Göttingen, 1900.

4. See, e.g., the lively story of deliberations in the tribal assembly in the story of the *Yaum Shī'b Jabala*, *Naqā'id*, ed. Bevan, Leiden, 1908 f., p. 657₁₀-658₁₁.

5. It is interesting to note that many words for "leader" and the like are etymologically connected with roots meaning "to speak."

6. The *aiyām al-'arab* literature abounds in instances of men who assumed leadership in moments of stress; it also shows the dignified position of valiant and tried

saiyids who led their tribes for years until their end and who bequeathed their office to their sons. We find, even in pre-Islamic days, families of rank not by virtue of their birth but by the qualities of the born leader inherited for generations. The outstanding example of a young man rising to fame within his tribe is the young hero Bistām b. Qais whose career unfortunately was cut short by premature death in battle. Cp. Bräunlich, *Bistām b. Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held*, Leipzig, 1923.

7. Thus at the end of the Dāhis war which lasted for forty years, the exhausted warring tribes turned to al-Ḥārith b. 'Auf asking him to be the mediator between them in order to make peace. By the weight of his personality alone he was able to end the internecine strife, see *Naqā'id*, p. 104, lines 13ff.

8. This institution, called *juwār* in Arabic, is known throughout the Semitic world: the *ger asher bish arēka* is well known in Biblical times. Jacob was such a *jār* with Laban, and Moses with Jethro. On *juwār*, see S. Fraenkel, *Schutzrecht der Araber*, in *Orientalische Studien Noeldeke gewidmet*, vol. I, pp. W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London, 1903, pp. 47.

9. Arabic literature knows a number of such outlaws. Ta'abbata Shariā and ash-Shanfara are perhaps the best known, but there are many more: see the chapters *Futūk al-Jāhiliya* and *Futūk al-Islām* in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. by I. Lichtenstadter, Hyderabad, 1942, pp. 192-232.

10. It was even possible to invoke a person's *juwār* for some time or for some specified case only, e.g., to help one to avenge the death of a member of one's family, or to retrieve stolen camels. During the pilgrimage certain tribes were under the protection of Mekkan tribes for the duration of the *ḥajj*, see Ibn Ḥabīb, loc. cit., p. 181. Any one who had eaten a man's food was in his protection as long as the food was still in his stomach (see Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 194f., 242₁₁ ff.) or for three days, cf. also Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1897 (2nd edition), p. 193f. Women, too, frequently had to seek refuge if their natural protectors, their blood relations, were unable or unwilling to grant the protection due to them. Such women were often divorcees or repudiated women; on the *jāra*, see I. Lichtenstadter, *Das Nasib der altarabischen Qaside*, in *Islamica*, vol. V. Leipzig, 1931, pp. 83ff., and idem, *Women in the ayyām al-'arab*, London, 1935, pp. 71ff. On *juwār* with modern Bedouins, see E. Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der arabischen Beduinenstämme*, in *Islamica*, vol. VI, pp. 186ff.

11. The root of the word signifies "to swear."

12. For a representation and interpretation of this ceremony, see Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 124-129; see *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāk bearbeitet von... Ibn Hishām*, herausgegeben von F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858 (hereafter quoted as Ibn Hishām), pp. 84ff.

13. See Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 166ff.; 234f.

14. See Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 166, 169, 178-81; Ibn Hishām, pp. 126-29. This *ḥilf*-association was very wide-spread, probably not only between tribes, but also between clans, families, and even individuals. A Biblical counterpart would be the *B'rith* between David and Jonathan. The examples in Arabic literature where a man is identified as the *ḥalif* of a family, or where a certain tribe with its *ḥulafā'* is mentioned, are too numerous to be quoted.

15. See I. Göldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1889, vol. I, p. 69; cf. also J. Schacht, *Zur soziologischen Betrachtung des islamischen Rechtes*, in *Der Islam*, vol. XXII, p. 235.

16. See Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 310f.; J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe beiden Arabern*, Göttingen, 1893, in *Nochrichten der Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, No. 11, p. 439 F., Smith, *Kinship*, ch. 3.

17. The list of men whose mothers were Abyssinians drawn up by Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 306-309 contains many members of noble Arabic families, including the Quraish. The Quranic verse sūra 49, 11: "Oh ye who believe, let not one people ridicule

another, perchance they are better than you" is said to have been revealed because Thābit b. Qais al-Anṣārī, the father of Ḥasan b. Thābit, Muḥammad's court-poet, called the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb "Son of the Black Woman" referring to an Abyssinian slave woman amongst his ancestors, Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 306, lines 10-14. The verse, however, is still to be considered later in the discussion of Muḥammad's attitude towards racial problems.

18. The *Ibn 'Amm* and the *Bint 'Amm*, i.e., first cousins on the father's side, had the first claim upon one another. The genealogical lists in Ibn Ḥabīb strikingly show the regularity with which this custom was adhered to.

19. See I. Lichtenstadter, *Women in the Aiyām al-'Arab*, London, 1935, pp. 59, 74ff.

20. See Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 310f.

21. See *ibid.*, pp. 311-19.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 263f.

23. The so-called wars of *Fijār*, i.e., Wars of Treachery originated in quarrelling and mockery between tribes at 'Ukāz; the jealousy with which Lailā, the mother of 'Amr b. Kulthūm, guarded her social position before Hind, the mother of the prince 'Amr b. Hind, led to bloodshed even at the banquet table.

24. A man made his son lie flat on the ground so that the *hijā'* would pass over his head. For *hijā'* cp. Göldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, pt. I, No. 1: 'Über die Vorgeschaichte der Higa-Poesie, Leiden, 1896.

25. Such *naqā'id* are preserved in Ibn Hishām's *Sira* reflecting the opinions of both Muslims and non-Muslims; from an early Islamic period date the *Naqā'id* of Jarir and al-Farazdaq and those of Jarir and al-Akhtal. Traces of Biblical *hijā'* are found in I Sam. 14, 12; 17, 44; of *fakhr* Num., 21, 21-31. For an alleged exchange of *naqā'id* between Adam and Iblis after the murder of Cain, see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, I, pp. 64ff.

26. A very curious species was a slaughtering match in which the two contestants tried to outdo each other in lavishness by killing hecatombs of camels, see *Naqā'id*, p. 415.

27. See the chapter *hāb al-hijā'* in Abū Tammām's collection of ancient Arabic poetry, called *al-Ulmasa*, ed. G. W. Freytag, Bonn, 1847, Arabic text pp. 626ff., e.g., p. 648f 654. Cp. Göldziher, *Muḥammed, Studien*, I, p. 43f.

28. See Ibn Hishām, p. 35 u. ff. especially p. 37, 6 fr. below.; Qur'ān, s. 106.

29. See, e.g., Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 164f., and Ibn Hishām, p. 87f. The Muslim historians try to prove that the B. Hāshim, the Prophet's family, were the most important members of the Mekkan community even in the Jāhiliya, but in spite of all the legends contained in the works of Muḥammad's biographers there is no authentic material to bear out this claim.

30. For a detailed dissertation on conditions in Medinah, see Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten IV*, 1: *Medina vor dem Islam*, Berlin, 1889, where he also discusses the situation of the Jews in Yathrib; see also the excellent introduction by T. Kowalski to his *Der Diwān des Kais ibn al-Hatim*, Leipzig, 1914., cf. as, Samhūdī, *Geschichte der Stadt Medinah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1860.

31. Ibn Hishām, p. 289, lines 9ff. cp. sūrah 60, verse 12.

32. See his letters and missions to the Arab tribes, Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, IV, 3: *Muhammads Schreiben und die Gesandtschaften an ihn*. Berlin, 1889, J. Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammeds an die Stämme Arabiens*, Berlin, 1916.

33. See I. Lichtenstadter, *Fraternization (Mu'ākhhāt) in Early Islamic Society*, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. XVI, pp. 47ff., Hyderabad, 1942.

34. The full text is found only in Ibn Hishām, pp. 341-44, while al-Wāqidi, at-Tabarī and other authors only refer to it. A list of the passages and the authors who mention the document is found in Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, I, 406f. (Rome, 1905), their relationship is discussed by A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden, 1908, p. 81ff. The document is translated in full into Dutch, by Wensinck,

loc. cit., pp. 74-81, into German by Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, IV, pp. 67-73, and into Italian by Caetani, loc. cit. I, p. 366 (§77). Each of these authors discusses the authenticity, and legal and social implications of the Statute, and the status of Jews in it. Cf. also, Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 7ff; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre Mohammeds*, vol. III, p. 20ff., Berlin, 1869.

35. For *ummah* see below, pp. 17ff.

36. The numbering by paragraphs follows Wellhausen and Wensinck.

37. That is, at this stage of Islamic development, especially the war against the Qurais̄h.

38. This obligation was clearly understood as binding by the Jews: A certain Jew, called Mukh̄airiq, who is described by Ibn Ishāq as "a Habr and a scholar" with a tendency towards Islām, reminded his Jewish kinsmen of their duty to fight on the Muslims' side at Uhud. "Oh ye Jewish people, you know, by Allāh, that it is your duty (*ḥaqq*) to help Muhammad. They answered: 'To-day is Sabbath, whereupon he retorted: There is no Sabbath for you.' Mukh̄airiq himself fought at Uhud and bequeathed his whole fortune to Muḥammad. Ibn Hishām, p. 354.

39. It is noteworthy that this word occurs only twice in the Statute, once in the "preamble" constituting the *ummah* and in this paragraph, the first of those dealing in detail with the status of the Jews in the community.

40. Wellhausen, in his interpretation, is somewhat guided by his latent antisemitism (see, e.g., his *Medina vor dem Islam*, p. 14f.) when he maintains that "die Juden gehörten natürlich nicht so eng zur Umma wie die Qurais̄h und die Ancar;" however, he admits: "Wir werden die Perfidie vielmehr auf seiten Mohammeds erblicken." The Muslim apologists try to put the blame solely upon the Jews and accuse them of treachery which, they maintained, forced Muḥammad to his action. It was, on the contrary, his insufficient knowledge of Jewish lore and tenets which led him to expect their allegiance which they were unable to give; his actions may be explained partly by his disappointment and partly by political motifs.

41. On these "Strallegenden" see extensively J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 1-77. They deal also with Mūsā who was sent as a warner to Fir'aun, i.e., Pharaoh. Cf. also R. Ettinghausen, *Antiheidnische Polemik in Koran*, Geluhausen, 1934, 19pp. 45ff.

42. The italicized word in the following quotations from the Qur'ān represents the Arabic word *ummah*. In the following discussion only the verses containing this word are considered.

43. Altogether, the word *ummah*, occurs 65 times in the Qur'ān; in two passages, however, it has a different meaning: s. 12.45 *ba'da ummatin* means "after a while;" s. 16. 121. Abraham is called an *ummah*, signifying "the head of an *ummah*" (see Horovitz, loc. cit., p. 52) or *imām*, i.e., "leader of the congregation," see Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, vol. 14, p. 119, line 5, fr. bottom: *kāna mu'allima khairin yu'tammu bihi ahlu-l-hudā*, "He was a teacher of good, by whom the well-guided people are led," *ibid.* p. 120, line 4: *alladhī yu'allimu-n-nāsa khairan*, "Who would teach the people something good;" other authorities explain that Ibrāhīm was "an *ummah* to himself," *fa-innahu kāna waḥdahu*, while all the rest of his people were still heathen, *ibid.*, p. 120 pu *qāla anna Ibrāhima kāna ummatan 'alā hidatin qātinan lillāhi*, "He said Ibrāhīm was an *ummah* by himself, worshipping Allāh," p. 121, line 4. In sūra 43, 21f. '*alā ummatin* is used in an older meaning almost identical with '*alā sunnatin* "according to custom," as in Nābigha, XVII, 21, edition of Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the six Ancient Arabic Poets*, London, 1870, see Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 52.

44. Ibn Hishām, p. 341, line 8, 342pu.

45. The Jews and Christians are compared to labourers in a vineyard: frequently, e.g., Bukhārī 9. 17 (and others); Tirmidhī, 41. 72; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, II, 6, 111, 121, 129, see A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition*, Leyden, 1927, s. v. *Umma*.

46. Just as Muḥammad himself married a Jewish woman, even to this day inter-marriage between a Muslim man and a Jewish or Christian woman is allowed—though

not that of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim—the idea being that the woman would automatically acquire her husband's religion. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Cairo, 1346 H., p. 195, lines 2ff., in discussing this question, seems to lean towards these authorities who disapprove of intermarriage. Abū Yūsuf, however, is not so much interested in the religious problems as in the legal implications of intermarriage. On legal problems arising out of marriages in which the status of *dhimmi* is involved, see A. Tritton, *Non-Muslim Subjects of the Muslim State*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1942, p. 38.

47. Both words occur only in this verse in the Qur'ān.

48. See note 17 for one such explanation. Cp. Noeldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1909, p. 221.

49. The Hadīth emphasizes this attitude of Muḥammad's: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal V, 411: No race is superior to any other. See also note 72.

50. Ibn Hishām, p. 969, lines 8ff. Already at the first pilgrimage after the fall of Mekkah, the Prophet is reported to have preached a sermon in which he deprecated the Arab pride of ancestry reciting: ūra 49. 11: "Oh ye people of Quraish, Allāh has taken from you the conceit of the Jāhiliya and its way of boasting with the ancestors; man is from Adam and Adam is from dust. Then he recited: Oh ye people, verily We have created you, etc." Ibn Hishām, p. 861, lines 8ff.

51. Thus Caetani, loc. cit.; Göldziher, *Muham. Stud.*, I, p. 69ff.

52. This attitude of racial tolerance has survived and is one of the greatest assets in the missionary activities of Islām, cp. C. H. Becker, *Der Islam als Problem*, in *Islamstudien*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1924, p. 2f: "Der Araber verüdet sich mit dem bekehrten Neger und in dem religiösen Zentrum Mekka laufen alle diese Fäden zusammen." See also Hans Kohn, *Die Europäisierung des Orients*, Berlin, 1934, p. 62, and T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, 3rd edition, London, 1935, p. 357ff.

53. The most noteworthy event of this kind was the celebrated so-called "Battle of Dhū Qār" which took place ca. 604 A.D. and in which the Bakr b. Wā'il, an Arab tribe, defeated the Persians and their allied Arab tribes. See *Naqā'id*, pp. 638-48; E. Bräunlich, *Bistām b. Qais*, pp. 30-34.

54. See Becker, *Islam als Problem*, p. 7f.

55. See Göldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. II, 1890.

56. Cp. Th. Nöldeke's review of Göldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, III, p. 98f.: "Die Araber behielten, was auch einige Fromme sagen mochten, in der Omaiadenzeit die unbedingte Oberherrschaft und auch später wirkte diese noch lange nach.... Uebrigens hat unter den Omaiaden schwerlich je ein Nichtaraber ein hohes Amt bekleidet." see also *ibid.*, p. 96: "Der Islam bleibt die arabische Religion, wenn er auch erst ausserhalb Arabiens seine grösste Bedeutung erlangt... hat." Cp. also J. Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog and Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Vienna, 1894, p. 19, note to nos. 77-79.

57. Göldziher, *Muham. Stud.* I, has examined in detail the antagonism between Arabs and *mawālī* the resulting *Shu'ubiya* movement, and the expression of their feuds in literature.

58. See *E.I.*, s.v. Dār al-Ḥarb.

59. E.g., sūta 9.29; see also Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 154, lines 4ff.; 187ff. (French translation, by E. Fagnan, *Le livre des impôts*, Paris, 1921, p. 145); as-Sarakhsi, *Mabsut* vol. X, p. 2, lines 5ff.; 77f.

60. See I. Lichtenstadter, *The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims in Islamic Countries*, in *Historia Judaica*, vol. V, New York, 1943, pp. 35-52.

61. Cp. A. Mingana, *A Charter of Protection*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. X, Manchester, 1926, p. 127: "A caliph or two, such as al-Mutawakkil, did certainly subject the Christians to some vexatious measures, but such incidents, however numerous, are to be considered infractions of the law, and the men who brought them about were breakers of the law, as all criminals are breakers of the law." An early testimony to the tolerance with which the Muslims treated the non-Muslims

is given by the Nestorian patriarch Isho' Yahb III (A.D. 650-660) see Mingana, *loc. cit.*, p. 128.

62. The Muslims were clearly aware of this fact which is pointed out in the above-mentioned Charter: "In this solicitude (of the Commander of the Faithful) participate not only Muslims, but all those . . . of his different subjects from the People of the Book who stand within the limit of the 'pact of protection' guaranteed by the convention of the *Shar'* concerning the *Dhimma*," *ibid.* p. 131.

63. See e.g., R. Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Leyden, 1912, (E.W. J. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XIX), Arabic text, p. 351, line 8: *wa-kāna yaqbalu shahādata-n-naṣārā 'ala-n-naṣārā wa-l-yahūdī 'ala-l-yahūdī wa-yaṣ'alu 'an 'adālatihim fī ahli dīnihim*, "he used to accept the testimony of the Christian against the Christian and of the Jew against the Jew and to inquire about their (conception of) justice among the people of their faith."

64. See Johann Kresmārik, *Beiträge zur Beleuchtung des islamischen Strafrechtes*, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. LVIII, Leipzig, 1904, p. 86; see also Josef Schacht, *Zur soziologischen Betrachtung des Islamischen Rechtes*, pp. 215ff., especially pp. 222, 235; G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechtes*, ed. Schacht, Berlin, 1935, p. 42f.; Tritton, *Non-Muslim Subjects*, in *JRAS*, 1942, pp. 36-40. Cp. the anecdote told in Tabarī, *Annales*, vol. II, p. 1731, lines 4ff.: the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik chided his son Mu'āwiya for beating a Christian who had offended him instead of referring the case to the Qādi for decision.

65. As a consequence, failure to speak pure Arabic provided the Arabs with another reason for mocking the *mawla*; see the anecdote in Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 346f. Ḥayān the leader of the *mawālī* in a revolt in Khurāsān, a Dailamī, was called *an-Nabaṭī*, the Nabatean, because of his *lukna*, his inability to express himself in Arabic, Tabarī II, 1291, line 5ff. The Arabs used to look upon the Nabateans as especially backward, see Göldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 156ff. The Turk Bugha the Older, according to an anecdote in Mas'ūdī, *Muruj adh-Dhahāb*, vol. VII, pp. 362ff., saved the life of an Arab who was accused of heresy by pretending not to understand Arabic. This anecdote probably is of *shu'ūbī* origin, since it stresses Bugha's piety. Cp. also, Göldziher, *Die Shu'ubīja unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien*, in *ZDMG*, vol. 53, 1899, pp. 601ff., see especially, p. 606, verses 1 and 3, in which a converted Christian is mocked at for his boorishness and the uncouthness of his language.

66. Thus developed the so-called *Garshunī*, the script of Syrian Christian who wrote in the Arabic language using Syriac characters just as Jewish authors such as Maimonides and Saadia, composed their works in the Arabic language but used their native Hebrew script.

67. On the rise of the *Shi'a*, see Wellhausen, *Religiös-politische Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin, 1901; *idem*, *Arab. Reich*, pp. 38-47; see Göldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 241.

68. This arrangement continued for centuries throughout the Islamic world, cp. e.g., Maqrizī, *Khitāt* (1346-1442 A.D.), vol. II, Cairo, 1270 A.H., pp. 6ff., for Egypt; see also Guest, *Governors*, p. 2; cp. H.L. Savage, *Fourteenth Century Jerusalem and Cairo through Western Eyes*, in *The Arab Heritage*, Princeton, 1943, p. 216.

69. See in extenso Göldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, I, *passim*, with rich material.

70. Tabarī, II, p. 73, lines 8ff. Cp. also al-Ḥajjāj's speech at his inauguration as governor of 'Irāq, Tabarī, II, p. 865, lines 2ff.

71. See Göldziher, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 147ff., particularly 151-54, with many references; see also *idem*, *Die Shu'ūbiya unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien*, in *ZDMG*, 1899, vol. 53, pp. 601ff. In Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, pp. 373-377 there is a list of the heads of the police guard (*shurṭa*) from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's time, who is said to have been the first caliph to have had such a guard, to al-Mutawakkil's time whose reign began in 847 A.D. The names do not indicate foreign origin, unless their bearers had adopted them, except for those of two men by the name of as-Sindī b. Shāhak (died 819 A.D., see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 302) and Abū Khālīd

al-Bāziyār, who served under al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn, the sons of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, respectively. See also Guest, *The Governors of Egypt*, pp. 208ff. On the distribution of Turks in the regions conquered by the Muslims, see R. N. Frye and A. M. Sayili, *Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 63, 1943, pp. 194ff. The influx of Turks into offices of the realm began already under Hārūn ar-Rashīd, and probably earlier, as is shown by a papyrus in the collection Erzherzog Rainer dating from Hārūn's reign, the earliest documentary evidence existing, see Karabacek, *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 159, no. 617: This is an "IOU" dated Rabī' II, 173 H. 789 A.D., given by 'Aqīqa bint Yūsuf to the Turk Tigīsh, a *maulā* of Thulayb b. Haiyān (see note on this papyrus). *Ibid.*, p. 201, no. 763 is a document by which the caliph al-Muntaṣir, while governor of Egypt, installed a Turk al-'Abbās b. Khākān as his vizier there, though only temporarily, representing his brother al-Faṭḥ b. Khākān. This took place in 442/856, see Karabacek's commentary on this document.

72. If they could not get rid of them, they could at least make them appear ridiculous. See the anecdote told by Ibn Ḥabīb, loc. cit., p. 222, lines 1-8: 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim who played a leading role in the subjugation of Khurāsān (see Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, pp. 259 ff.) made fools of a delegation sent to him by "the king of the Turks" by making them believe that he was insensible to either extreme cold or extreme heat. They went back to their "king" telling him that "they had returned from the devil: neither snow nor fire could affect him."

73. *Yātimat al-dahr*, vol. II, p. 118, lines 3-6. Generosity was one of the most highly praised aristocratic characteristics of the Arabs.

74. *Yātimat al-dahr*, III, p. 127, lines 12-13. There is a pun on *taraka* "to leave" and *turk* "Turk," in the first verse. This hostile attitude against the non-Arabs and the *shu'ubi* answer to it finds an echo in traditions in Ḥadīth, e.g., "leave the Abyssinians as long as they leave you," Abū Da'ūd, 36.8--11; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal V, 371; the excellence of the 'Ajam, "non-Arab" is extolled: Tirmidhī 46.70, see also Ahmad b. Ḥanbal V, 17, 21f.; only a *munāfiq* "hypocrite" hates the Arabs: Ahmad b. Ḥanbal I, 81 (cp. A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition*, Leyden, 1927, s.v. Abyssinian, 'Ajam, Arab). Even to this day, the Egyptians have a proverb deriding the greed of the Turks: *Ḥasan-wa-anā sīdak* 'Fine but I am your master.' I owe this information to my friend Professor I. al-Ibyārī in Cairo.

75. The *kharāj* was eventually levied on the land itself regardless of the fact whether its owner was a Muslim or a *dhimmi* so that the stigma appertaining to it was removed, the *jizyah*, however, remained a head tax with its aspect of social inferiority. See, e.g., Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, p. 297. The problems of *kharāj* are very intricate and require a separate detailed study; they include such questions as in what manner amelioration of the land affected the tax thereon, see *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, text p. 78f., French translation, p. 100f. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, I, Heidelberg, 1906, p. 15: 'Die Hauptschwierigkeit lag im Steuerwesen, da der Steuerverwaltung die Anachauung von einer Minderzahl herrschender Araber und einer Mehrzahl steuerpflichtiger Untertanen zugrunde lag.'

76. See W. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Medieval Islam*, London, 1937, passim; A. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, 1931, pp. 18ff.; for Spain see E. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, Alger, 1898, p. 46, Arab. text Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil Fi-t-Ta'rikh*, III, 446: Jews put in charge of Toledo by Tarik; also Fagnan, p. 47 Ibn al-Athīr, III, 447.

77. Tabarī II, 1688, lines 7ff. See Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, no. xi, against a tax collector who levied an excessive tax, and no. xiii, threatened punishment, for such crime: cutting off the tax collector's hair and beard.

78. The word used is *ummi*, usually translated "illiterate," thus also Arnold (see next note), cp. *nabi ummi*, "illiterate Prophet." In the phrase used in this passage *dhimmi wa-ummi* it is a *nisba* of *umma* and means "belonging to the community."

79. *Risālah* 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'il al-Hāshimī ilā 'Abd al-Masiḥ b. Ishāq al-Kindī,

ed. Muir, London, 1885, p. 3 'Arabic text. It is a letter, as its Arab title implies, written by an Arab to a Christian inviting him to become a Muslim; Muir dates it 215 H. see JRAS, N.S. vol. 14, p. 9, Casanova, Mohammed et l'afin du monde, Paris 1913, p. 112 204/5H. See T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 84f., and Appendix I on al-Kindi, see Massignon's article in *Enc. Isl.*

80. 'Alī aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb ad-Dīn wa-d-Dawla*, ed. A. Mingana, Cairo, 1923; translated by Mingana, *Book of Religion and Empire*, Manchester, 1922. See also idem, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1920, pp. 481-88.

81. Mingana, *Book*, p. 28f. The author overlooks, of course, that this is derived from a Rabbinic Jewish maxim.

82. Mingana, *Book*, p. 75. 'Alī aṭ-Ṭabarī refers to the Jews as the *ahl al-kitāb* par excellence, see especially, p. 51.

83. See *Kitāb Masālik an-Nazār* of Sa'id b. Ḥasan of Alexandria, ed. trs. 1 introd. notes by Sidney Adam Weston, in JAOS., 24 (1903), pp. 312ff. He lived towards the end of the 13th century A.D. See also Göldziher *Sa'id b. Ḥasan d'Alexandrie*, in REJ, XXX, Paris, 1895, pp. 1-23.

84. See Arnold, *Preaching*, p. 85 and note 4; M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1877, no. 65, p. 82; *Risālah 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'il* p. 47f. an account of a controversy on Islām and Christianity before al-Ma'mūn; but see Mingana, *'Alī aṭ-Ṭabarī*, p. vi: "We know nothing about the discussion between the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik b. Merwān (A.D. 692-705) and Ibrāhīm son of Rahīb Ṭabarānī mentioned by Steinschneider [loc. cit.]." A letter by Timothy, patriarch of the East Syrian Church, records a discussion before al-Mahdī (quoted from Mingana, loc. cit., who in his turn refers to the Arabic journal *al-Mashriq*, Beyruth, 1921, May-June).

85. See Erdmann Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930 (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie, Band, XVII) where the author gives a résumé of several anti-Christian treatises, mostly from unpublished manuscripts. On p. 18, an anonymous author expresses his intention "to write a refutation of the Jews, the brothers of pigs and monkeys." The dignitaries of the Church responded to the Muslim attempts at proselytizing and in their turn attacked the Muhammedans, see, e.g., A. Jeffery, *Gregory of Tathew's "Contra Mohammedanos"*, reprinted from *The Moslem World*, New York, July, 1942, or the alleged correspondence between the caliph 'Umar II and the Byzantine emperor Leo III, see A. Jeffery, *Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III*, reprinted from *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XXXVII (1944), no. 4, pp. 269-332; see also M. Perlman, *Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamluk Empire*, reprinted from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. X, pt. 4, pp. 843-861, London, 1942. For polemics between Jews and Muslims see Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apologet. Literatur*, 1877; Göldziher, *Muhammedanische Polemik gegen ahlalkitāb*, in ZDMG, vol. XXXII, pp. 341-387; M. Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Muhammedanern*, in ZDMG, xlii, pp. 591-675. See also Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. II, Berlin, 1902, p. 104: Aḥmad b. Taimiyya wrote a poem *Su'al ba'da ahl al-dhimma fi-l-qadā, wa-l-qadar* in response to the questions of a Jew.

86. Such forced conversion was even illegal from the point of view of Muslim canon law, cp. Arnold, *Preaching*, p., 421 referring to the case of Maimonides.

87. See, e.g., Gottheil, *Dhimmis and Muslims in Egypt*, reprinted from *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W.R. Harper*, vol. II, Chicago, s.a., pp. 351-414; idem, *An Answer to the Dhimmis*, in JAOS, 1921 vol. 41, pp. 383ff. In a crisis the *dhimmis*, whether Jews or Christian would refer to the *amān* "safe conduct" under which they lived since the times of the conquest; they even would produce ancient documents to prove the antiquity of their rights. Quite a few, if not all of these, were forged, e.g., the one found in the Cairo Genizah and published by Hartwig Hirschfeld in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 15, London, 1903, pp. 167ff. Hirschfeld seems to consider this document as genuine, but in spite of the imposing array of witnesses, all

Companions of the Prophet, or just because of it, it is a forgery. Hirschfeld dates the Genizah copy from the 10th century, if not earlier. The same doubt must be cast upon the "deed of privilege" published by F.S.D. Goitein in *Kiryath Sepher*, IX, Jerusalem, 1933, pp. 508ff.

88. His most important duty was the payment of *jizyah* and *khārāj*. The discharge of this obligation secured him his freedom of movement, such as the right to travel; the tax collector's receipt was necessary for him to get an *amān*, so to speak a visa, see Karabacek, *Papyri Erzherzog Rainer*, nos. 601, 602, p. 153, no. 609, p. 156, no. 670, p. 175. An *amān* was also required of Christian pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, see Tobler et Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitani et Descriptio Terrae Sanctae bellis sacris anteriora*, Geneva, 1879-85, vol. I, pp. 269, 310, 312; cp. H. L. Savage *Fourteenth Century Jerusalem*, p. 215. Foreign merchants entering Islamic territory had to procure an *amān* and to pay a tithe on the merchandise they brought into the *dār al-Islām* from the *dār al-Harb*, see, for Egypt, Wüstenfeld, *Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten nach . . . al-Calcaschandi*, Göttingen, 1879, p. 163, V. See also, W. Heffening, *Das Islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover, 1925, pp. 49ff.

89. For a collection of references in Muslim legal authorities regarding the status of *dhimmi* see Tritton, *Non-Muslim Subjects of the Muslim State*, in *JRAS*, London, 1942, pp. 36-40; the same author's *The Caliph and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, 1930 discusses the actual events; T.W. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* describes the spread of the Islamic religion.

90. This split-up into many states accounts for differences in treatment accorded to the *dhimmis* residing in different parts of the Muslim empire.

91. Differently Hans Kohn, in *The Idea of Nationalism*, p. 79; but he is right only in so far as in the West *sacerdotium* and *imperium* were represented by two persons, whereas the caliph was "pope" as well as "emperor" remaining "pope" until the caliphate was abolished after the first World War.

92. For a detailed exposition see Guido Kisch, *The Yellow Badge in History*, in *Historia Judaica*, vol. IV, no. 2, New York, 1942, pp. 96-102.

93. See idem, *Nationalism and Race in Medieval Law*, reprinted from *Seminar*, an Annual Extraordinary Number of the *Jurist*, vol. I, Washington, D.C. 1943.

94. In Islam, just as in the West, heresy was a *crimen laesae maiestatis* often punished by death; see al-Ma'mūn's edict, *Tabarī* III, 1112-1116; Ibn al-Athīr V, pp. 196f.; *Tabarī* II, 1733, lines 2ff.; *Qihailān ad-Dimashqī's* hands and feet were cut off, *ibid.*, III, 1131, lines 6 ff.; Ahmad b. Hanbal before Ma'mūn's *mihnah* (inquisition); cp. Göldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 114f.; Hans Kohn *Idea of Nationalism*, p. 104.

95. See, e.g., the letter sent by Taūfil, (i.e. Theophilus) of Byzantium to al-Ma'mūn asking for peace and suggesting a treaty for commercial co-operation, *Tabarī* III, 1109, lines 5ff., especially the last but one and following lines. See also A. H. Lybyer, *The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade*, in *English Historical Review*, London, 1915, vol. XXX, pp. 375ff. (for Mongol empire, ca. 1240-1340 A.D.); W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1885; Mas Latrie, *Privilege Commercial accordé en 1320 à la République Venise par un Roi de Perse*, in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. XXXI, Paris, 1870, pp. 79-81; cp. idem, *Traité de Paix et de Commerce et Documents divers concernant les Relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1866-72.

96. Cp. Göldziher, *Vorlesungen*, pp. 3, 48.

A REVIEW OF THE REIGN OF FĪRŌZ SHĀH (1351-88 A. C.)

THE reign of Fīrōz Shāh occupies a potently significant and important position in the history of the Sultanate period. The end of the reign marks the end of one era and the beginning of another: it marks the decline of the Qarauna Monarchy and the decay of the Sultanate of Delhi. But the post-Fīrōz period is a direct product of Fīrōz Shāhi period of government. During his reign were released the forces which account for the decay and disintegration of the Sultanate. The clue to the fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies which characterise the long interval between the death of Fīrōz Shāh and the Mughal accession to power lies in the reign of Fīrōz Shāh himself. In the pages that follow an endeavour has been made broadly and briefly to evaluate the administration of Fīrōz Shāh.

GENERAL POLICY DETERMINED BY FĪRŌZ SHĀH

THAT the policy of state in all its essentials was determined by Fīrōz Shāh himself is abundantly borne out by Baranī and 'Afif. The policy of appeasing all sections of population by financial grants and concessions, and of reviving of religious endowments which had long since lapsed, and grants of lands and pensions, was all calculated to secure popular support and to follow the line of least resistance. Fīrōz had to adopt this course of action when he was marching from Thatta to Delhi as the Khwāja Jahān was still in power there and the attitude of the nobles was uncertain. Weak by nature, and conscious of his precarious position, he followed the policy of keeping the nobles contented by giving them large assignments and allowing them to amass huge wealth. The position that Fīrōz had once assumed and the concessions he had once granted could not be withdrawn. He had neither the strength of purpose nor the fearlessness of 'Alā-ud-dīn to assert his rights and to coerce the nobility to submission to his orders as the latter had done. When the Dīwān-i-Wizārat brought to his notice a case of arrears against a favourite assignee, Fīrōz would not take notice of it. The practice of allowing old soldiers to send their substitutes, and of transferring the post and emolument of a servant of state, on his death, to his son was initiated by Fīrōz himself.¹ The only redeeming feature was the consistent and uniform policy of securing peace and prosperity of the people and of building works of public utility. For

1. 'Afif, *Shams Sirāj—Tarikh-i-Fīrōz Shāhi* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), pp. 96, 302-305.

bribery, corruption and looseness of administration, the responsibility was mainly Fīrōz's as 'Afif has pointed out again and again.¹ There was similar irregularity in muster of soldiers and examination of their horses.² The religious bias in state policy was entirely due to Fīrōz.

The policy of the state under Fīrōz was largely an expression of his own character—weak, vacillating, compromising, benign and benevolent. As for Khān-i-Jahān, he was a man of the world with a passion for show and pleasure.³ He was remarkably efficient too. His abilities were a source of stability and strength for the empire. During the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, he had been very firm and strict in the work of the Diwān-i-Wizārat and the realization of dues from the muqti's. During Fīrōz's reign also he tried to be as efficient as the general policy of the state allowed him to be. The civil administration was practically in his hands so much so that Fīrōz used to call him the Pādshāh of Delhi, but Fīrōz did not cease to take personal interest in administration, and important affairs were regularly placed before him. In important expeditions, Fīrōz used to consult Khān-i-Jahān and it was on his advice that he ultimately gave up military campaigns. As a matter of fact, without such a loyal, firm and strong minister, it would not have been possible for Fīrōz to undertake his distant expeditions. In other important matters also, Khān-i-Jahān was usually consulted.

In short though Khān-i-Jahān exercised considerable influence as head of the administration and though he was consulted on important matters of state, the policy and spirit of government were determined by Fīrōz Shāh himself.

ATTITUDE TO VARIOUS CLASSES

Politically the most influential classes in the Delhi Sultanate were, firstly, the Muslim nobility and, secondly, the religious classes. The Muslim nobility in India was never a close corporation, nor was it hereditary, but a certain standard of high descent was generally demanded. From the time of the Khiljīs, it had included a growing element of Indian Muslims consisting of persons of foreign origin domiciled in India, or converted Indians. It was from the Muslim nobility that both administrators and military leaders were drawn. Quite frequently they supplied candidates for the throne also. The religious classes comprised the 'ulamā (the ecclesiastics and the learned in law and religion) and the mashā'ikh (the pious and the mystics). The latter were divided into orders (silsilahs). The Saiyids (descendants of the holy Prophet) were also greatly respected and were considered part of the religious classes. The qādīs, the teachers, the Shāikhul Islām, the Ṣadr and sometimes other dignitaries of the empire also, were recruited from these classes. Besides, the religious classes,

1. Eg. 'Afif, pp. 341, 471.

2. This has been discussed in detail elsewhere in my monograph on Fīrōz Shāh.

3. 'Afif, pp. 399-400; See Sivari 'Arifin, 156, for Khān-i-Jahān's refusal to release a clerk's son on the intercession of Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān.

particularly the *Mashā'ikh*, exercised great influence on all sections of Muslim population. The Sultāns of Delhi had generally maintained good relations with both these classes. Balban, the most autocratic of all Sultāns, and the one who broke the oligarchy of the Forty (*ghulāmān-i-chihlgāna*), never antagonized the Muslim nobility at large and was very scrupulous about the descent of his officers and showed great regard to Muslim immigrants of good birth. Even 'Alā-ud-dīn, who was thoroughly secular in his politics, always maintained an attitude of distant reserve toward religious classes. Muḥammad bin Tughluq antagonized both these classes,¹ and had to bear the consequences. Firōz had seen all this personally and he was determined to avoid the blunder. Moreover he was eminently fitted by temperament to pursue a policy of conciliation and appeasement.²

He conciliated the nobles by giving them large assignments in which they were allowed more or less a free hand. The benefits from increased produce and extension of cultivation inside the assigned territory also went to the assignee.³ They were able to amass huge riches.⁴ The governors also were treated with consideration. They were no longer required to bring large presents at their own cost. The various strictures and insults to which the nobles and the governors were subjected in case of arrears in the previous reigns were prohibited.⁵ In the whole reign of little less than forty years, only one muqti' lost his head on account of arrears.⁶

If Firōz conciliated the nobles as a matter of policy, he conciliated the religious classes as a matter both of policy and conviction. At least one important officer was taken from their ranks in the person of Khwāja Hissāmuddīn Junaid. On important matters involving any question of law a conclave of 'ulama was summoned to advise and guide the Sultān. In the orders of appointment to governors, Firōz used to stress their duty of respecting the religious classes and meeting their needs.⁷ Taking advantage of the favourable attitude of Firōz Shāh, they began to interfere in administration also.⁸ The letters of 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū, governor of Multān and Uch, bear ample testimony to that. Complaints against the local officials were lodged with an influential Shaikh who wrote directly to 'Ainul Mulk about it. Complaints against 'Ainul Mulk himself were submitted to a Shaikh, and he ('Ainul Mulk) had to write to him explaining his position and difficulties. Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān, the leading saint of Uch, twice served as intermediary between the government and the local

1. The accounts of Barānī, Ibn Battūta and Amīr Khurd (author of *Siyarul 'Auliya*) bear ample testimony to this.

2. This has been discussed in detail elsewhere in my thesis.

3. Evidence for this has been given elsewhere in my thesis.

4. *'Afif*, pp. 297, 439.

5. Barānī, *Diā-ud-dīn, Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, (Bib. Ind.).

6. Even this solitary case had certain attenuating circumstances. See *'Afif*, pp. 472-73.

7. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Aligarh copy of Asiatic Society Bengal's MS.), f. 7, 15.

8. There is ample evidence of it in *Munshāt*. Multān, where 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū served as governor, was a stronghold of the *Mashā'ikh*. There is no such source of information about other provinces, but things might not have been very different there.

Munshāt, f. 49, 51-68, 89, 238.

rulers of Thatta. The qādis of Thaneswar, under a flimsy legal pretence, misappropriated the jizya of a village. The in-charge of the Khānqāh of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn used to withhold allowances payable to certain people. The share of the Diwān was misappropriated by some men to whom assignments were granted on account of their piety and learning. 'Ainul Mulk had a difficult time with these "pious and learned men" who clamoured for more allowances and made complaints about the inadequacy of their grants.¹

Firōz was discreet enough to maintain good relations with both sections of the religious classes—the 'Ulamā and the Mashā'ikh. On points of law he used to consult 'ālims and muftīs (jurisconsults) as well as the Shaikhs.² He was orthodox enough to persecute all those who deviated pointedly from the orthodox Sunni creed and practices.

Side by side with the attempt at conciliation of the secular and spiritual nobility, a prosperous commonalty and a contented peasantry was also an essential condition for the stability of the Sultanate. The Muslim community formed the ultimate strength of the Delhi Sultanate which was after all a Muslim state. Firōz Shāh tried to secure the happiness and contentment of the community by various means, such as grant of assignments to soldiers, financial aid to the poor, grant for marriage of daughters of the indigent people, solicitude for the faqirs, abolition of numerous imposts, grants to mosques, madrasas and khānqāhs, establishment of a free hospital, etc.³ The clerks and the revenue officials were treated with extreme leniency. Even small people like story-tellers, wrestlers, bards and minstrels were not too low to receive his attention. They came in large numbers, two thousand to three thousand, on each Friday after Jum'a prayers and were admitted to the court of the wooden balcony. Firōz Shāh used to mix with them freely. Each of them was given a few tankas. Even the four year and five year old children of the musicians received the same reward as others, and Firōz Shāh frowned on the suggestion to reduce their reward.⁴

ATTITUDE TOWARDS HINDUS

The ryots, who were mostly Hindus, were well looked after. They were considered as "Khāzinān-i-baitul māl-i-Musalmānān"; they kept the state treasury filled.⁵ They were contented and prosperous during Firōz's reign. Firōz's attitude towards the muqaddams and khuts was also lenient. They became very rich during his reign.⁶ Towards the

1. *Munshāt*, f. 51-72.

2. *'Afif*, pp. 376, 380, 382.

3. *'Afif*, pp. 180, 344, 349-60; 537-61; *Fūtuḥat-i-Firōz Shāhi*, Aligarh edition, pp. 5, 6, 18, 21; *Barani*, pp. 558-61; *Sīrat*, 124, 147-48, 169-70, 174.

4. *'Afif*, pp. 367-69.

5. *Barani*, p. 572.

The low level of assessment and other things are discussed elsewhere in my monograph on Firōz Shāh.

6. *Barani*, p. 554.

Hindu chiefs, known as *ra'īs* and *zamindars*, Firōz Shāh followed a policy of conciliation.¹ Some of them enjoyed distinguished positions at the court. Towards the later part of the reign, however, they showed signs of growing contumacy on account of the decline in the strength of the Sultanate, and Firōz Shāh had to lead expeditions against them.²

A number of temples were demolished during the reign of Firōz either as acts of war, as during the Jājnagar and Nagarkōt expeditions, or under special circumstances, as in the case of the new temples built in the vicinity of Delhi. On the other hand, the sanctity of old temples was maintained and the temple of Jwālāmukhi in Nagarkōt was left intact on the specific ground that the *Shari'at* did not allow demolition of old places of worship.³

The policy of Firōz (and with modification, of other Sultāns of the Sultanate period) towards the Hindus appears to have been to protect their lives and property and, in that matter, they were on an equal footing with Muslims.⁴ As far as the beneficent activities of the state were concerned (e.g., education, care of the poor, provision of the unemployed, marriage of poor girls, religious endowments, etc.), it was largely the Muslims who benefited.⁵ Political power remained exclusively in Muslim hands and no post of influence is known to have been held by any Hindu.⁶ That the *jizya* was felt to be a humiliating tax and a burdensome impost is evident from the fact that a good number of people abjured their religion and joined Islam in order to escape it.⁷ Firōz Shāh, after consultations with the jurists decided to extend the humiliating tax to the Brahmans, on the plea that they were "the key to the chamber of infidelity." The Brahmans had so far enjoyed exemption from the *jizya*. They protested and threatened to burn themselves to death. To this Firōz Shāh remained indifferent. Then they went on a fast unto death. The Hindus of the capital persuaded them to give it up and undertook to pay their *jizya*. Firōz Shāh too agreed to apply the lowest rate to them as a concession.⁸

SLAVES

In the creation of a new class of slaves, Firōz Shāh had definite motives. Being a weak-willed man, he wanted some dependable support.

1. 'Afif, pp. 62, 103, 281; Baranī, pp. 587, 595.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, (Bib. Ind.), pp. 134-5.

3. This is the version given in *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhi* (Aligarh copy of Bankipore Library MS.) and I prefer it as being more contemporary. 'Afif gives a different version. See 'Afif, pp. 186-87.

4. 'Afif, pp. 133, 154, 180, etc.; Baranī, p. 554; Cf. 'Afif, p. 140.

5. 'Afif in his account of such activities of the state, sometimes states this clearly and sometimes it can be inferred from context, See 'Afif, pp. 96-98, 316, 334-35; 349-50, 359-60; 179-81; Baranī, pp. 558-561, 564.

6. Prof. Hodiwala suggests that Kajar Shāh, in charge of Shashgāni mint was a Hindu. *Siyaṛul 'Arifin*, a much later work says that a local officer in Uch during Firōz's reign was a Hindu. The man who carried out repairs of the Qutb on Firōz's order was also a Hindu. All these were of course minor jobs.

7. *Futūhāt*, p. 20.

8. 'Afif, pp. 382-84.

This he found in the slaves. The slaves having been bought and brought up by him, had a personal loyalty to him. They depended for subsistence and promotion on his favour. Hence, more than any other class, they could be depended upon to remain loyal to the Sultān under all circumstances. But this source of personal strength for the Sultān was destined to become a source of weakness and instability for the Sultanate.

RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE SULTANATE EMPHASISED

The Delhi Sultanate was never a theocracy, for the political power of the state was never in the hands of an ordained priesthood. Yet it was theocentric; the state religion was Islam and the Shari'at was the law of the state. To what extent the law was enforced varied with the attitude and inclination of the Sultāns. This religious aspect of the Sultanate became particularly pronounced during the reign of Fīrōz. Yet even his government cannot be described as theocratic though it was the nearest approach to theocracy in the entire Sultanate period. The 'Ulama and the Mashā'ikh exercised considerable influence during his reign and frequently interfered in the working of the administration. But the entire civil and military administration was in the hands of the secular nobility¹ who worked it according to the notions and traditions of their class.

PERSECUTION

The religious, or rather the ecclesiastical spirit of Fīrōz's regime found expression in many ways. Sunni Islam was the religion of the state.² All grave deviations from the orthodox creed were ruthlessly suppressed. The first to feel the brunt of this persecution were the Shi'as. Their leaders were captured; the more active and extremist among them were executed; others were restrained by censures, threats and public exposure. Their books were publicly burned. The Mulhids and Ibahatiyas were accused of indulging in incest in their nocturnal convivial parties, and of considering this to be a mode of worship. Their leaders were executed; others were exiled or imprisoned. A man, Aḥmed Bihāri by name, preached renunciation and celibacy, objected to the nine wives of the holy Prophet and was considered by his Bihāri followers as God incarnate. He was punished along with one of his followers, the rest of whom were exiled and dispersed to various places. A man, Rukn by name, proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi and an apostle and claimed inspired knowledge of many things not revealed even to other prophets. When brought to the presence of the Sultān, he frankly acknowledged the charges. This was considered to be a very grave menace to the orthodox creed. In accordance with the verdict of the

1. The only important officials drawn from the religious class were Khwāja Hissāmuddin Junaid, the Majmu'adar, and Saiyid Ma'rūf, the Saiyidul Hujjāb and boon-companion of Fīrōz Shāh.

2. *Futūhāt-i-Fīrōz Shāhi*, pp. 7-10.

doctors of law, he was executed along with his supporters. A maulā-zāda (son of a slave) of 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū set himself up as a religious leader in Gujrāt and claimed godhood. He was punished and his book burnt.

PURITANISM

Many of the un-Islamic or undesirable practices that had grown up among Musalmans were suppressed. A large number of Muslim women used to visit the tombs outside Delhi. The bad characters of the town also resorted to the places, which led to immoral practices. This practice was prohibited.¹ The use of vessels of gold and silver and golden sword-belts and quivers was forbidden. Fīrōz Shāh himself began to eat and drink from stone and clay vessels, and got the fittings of his arms made of bones. Animate paintings on robes of honour, walls and ceilings, bridles, saddles, censers, vessels, tents, curtains, throne and royal standards became taboo. Natural landscapes took the place of paintings of living things in the royal bedrooms. Garments made of silk and ornamental gold brocades and the like were prohibited. Only those clothes, flags and caps were allowed in which gold brocade did not exceed four fingers. These puritanical prohibitions, relating to vessels, dress, and the like took place in 776/1374-75, when Fīrōz Shāh had got himself shaved.²

The abolition of extra-Shari'at taxes and extra-Shari'at modes of punishment was the outcome of the same religious spirit.³

SPIRIT OF GOVERNMENT

The spirit of government was paternal and beneficent. According to his lights, Fīrōz Shāh tried to secure happiness and comfort to his people. His low state-demand, his abolition of imposts and barbarous modes of punishment, and numerous beneficent activities of the state under him were all calculated to secure that end. He was keenly solicitous of the interests and welfare of the poorer classes.

JUSTICE

Fīrōz Shāh, though extremely clement as far as the misdoings of officials and employees were concerned, had a keen sense of justice where the property and person of his subjects were concerned.⁴ Only two cases are recorded of his justice, as they were of an extraordinary character. In the first case a favourite noble of Fīrōz Shāh had brought about the death of his (the noble's) step-brother. His distinguished position at the court could not save him, and he was executed by Fīrōz's orders. The second case is even more interesting. One Khwāja Aḥmed, a clerk in the royal treasury, had employed a student as tutor for his son. The Khwāja developed a passion for this young man, while the latter

1. *Futūḥāt*, p. 10. For a similar practice and its prohibition under Sikandar Lodi, see *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, (Bib. Ind.) vol. I, p. 336; and under Sulṭān Maḥmūd bin Laṭif Khān of Gujrāt. See *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, (Bib. Ind.) vol. III, p. 242.

2. *Futūḥāt*, pp. 13-14; 'Aṣif, p. 374. 3. *Futūḥāt*, pp. 2, 5-6. 4. 'Aṣif, p. 25.

was involved in a love affair with some woman. In consequence of certain suspicions, the Khawāja, with the help of two slave-boys, murdered the student after making him drunk one night. The same night, they removed his body and left it near a bridge. Next day Firōz Shāh happened to pass by and the corpse caught his eye. He stopped there, summoned the Kōtwāl and made him responsible for discovering the murderer, saying "If you do not find the murderer, you will be executed for the murder of this man." The Kōtwāl made desperate enquiries. Someone from the crowd which had assembled around the corpse, was able to give a clue. Suspicion fell on the Khawāja. After assiduous enquiries, at every stage of which the Sultān took personal interest, the guilt of the Khawāja was established. He wanted to pay 80,000 tankas in lieu of death penalty, and Khān-i-Jahān (probably the junior Khān-i-Jahān) presented his case favourably to Firōz. "O foolish Wazīr" said Firōz Shāh, "If money is accepted and the murder of Musalmans is not avenged, the common people will be in great trouble. Every man who has wealth will, relying on its strength, murder human beings. This will bring (on us) shame on the day of judgment." Khān-i-Jahān now said that Khawāja Ahmed had to render account of loss of money and his execution might be put off for a few days so that accounts may be taken from him. "I wash my hands of the lacs (of tanka)" said the Sultān, "Ahmed must be executed at once." The Khawāja, along with the two slave-boys, was executed in the presence of the public.¹

LAXITY OF ADMINISTRATION

The laxity, inefficiency and corruption in administration has been pointed out again and again. There is little doubt that Firōz Shāh was personally responsible for it. He used to condone the offences and misappropriations of the officials and employees of the state.² The best indictment of the incapacity and laxity of the revenue staff is found in the remarks of Shams-ud-din Abū Rājā.³ The irregularities in

1. 'Afif, pp. 503-508.

2. 'Afif, pp. 20, 25.

3. 'Afif, pp. 468, 475. The indictment makes an interesting reading in original and is given below :—

ملک شمس الدین بر اصحاب دیوان الفاظ عیب گفت. . . . بعضی را گفت مشتی مغلولیان یعنی پدر ایشان در دیوان وزارت داری و شغلی داشتند، چون نقل کردند حضرت شاه درباب پسران ایشان مرحمت کرد، و شغل پدر به پسران داد. و ایشان از کارها و کردارهای دیوان وزارت هائے آن قاصرند و از آثار ادراک مایوس و غافل. ایشان مشتی از طائفه مغلولیان اند. و بعضی را لنگر جامخانه نام کرده بود. یعنی چنانچه لنگر جام خانه در وقت فراش جامخانه در گرانه آن می دارند تا جام خانه از آسیب باد سرد نه جنبد. هم همچنین ملک شمس الدین فرمود بعضی اصحاب دیوان وزارت از عقل و ثبات خالی و عاری اند. و بوقت نشستن وزیرایشان پیش مسند می آیند، طریقه لنگر جامخانه بالای جامخانه می نشینند. و از کارها و عملهای مملکت هیچ نمی دانند. گویا که سنگها اند.

the account of the *kārkhānas* and the irregularities and corruption of the *Diwān-i-‘Arḍ* are a recurring theme in ‘*Afif*’s chronicle. Even high officers were not above the charge of corruption. The *Ra’īs-i-Shahr* used to take bribes from traders before issuing permits to accompany the army.¹ *Firōz*’s own boon-companion *Saiyidul Hujjāb Ma’rūf* used to take tips from those for whom he secured favours and grants from the *Sultān*. *Firōz Shāh* knew it but never said a word.² One mint-master debased coins. ‘*Abū Rājā* the auditor-general of the Sultanate was charged with corruption.

HEREDITARY SERVICES

That a state employee should be succeeded by his son or relatives on his retirement or death became almost a general practice. “One of the kind acts of the *Sultān* is that whenever one of his subjects, who enjoys some office, aid, grant or allowance dies, all his property, dues, *vilāyats*, perquisites, office *marātib* and *in‘ām* are transferred to his sons and progeny.”³ It applied to high officers as well as the *wajhadār* soldiers. Thus *Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl* was succeeded by his son *Khān-i-Jahān Jauna Shāh*.⁴ *Ishāq* worked as ‘*Ārid-i-Mumālik* during the last years of his father’s life, and after his death succeeded to his office and title. *Daryā Khān* succeeded to the title and office of his father, *Ẓafar Khān*, governor of *Gujrāt*, and came to be called *Ẓafar Khān bin Ẓafar Khān*. *Malik Nēkāmdī, Kōtwāl*, was succeeded in his office by his son. *Sīrat* and ‘*Afif*’s chronicle refer to a considerable number of important posts, which, on the death of their holders, were transferred to their sons.⁵ About the assignments to soldiers, *Firōz Shāh* made similar regulations in regard to them that “if a soldier dies, his assignment should be given to his son; if he had no son, to his son-in-law; if he had no son-in-law either, to his slave; if he had no slave too, to his women.”

REFORMS AND BENEFICENT ACTIVITIES

During the reign of ‘*Alā-ud-dīn* and *Muḥammad bin Tughluq* the administration had become harsh and oppressive. *Firōz Shāh* humanized and liberalized the administration by his various reforms and beneficent activities.

Firōz Shāh gives, in his *Futūḥāt-i-Firōz Shāhi*, a harrowing list of the cruel inhuman modes of punishment prevalent in former reigns. Some of these find confirmation from the accounts of the reign of ‘*Alā-ud-dīn* and *Muḥammad bin Tughluq*.⁶ *Firōz Shāh* abolished all

1. ‘*Afif*, p. 290.

2. ‘*Afif*, p. 449.

3. *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhi*, f. 151, 152, 153. Also see *Futūḥāt-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 22. ‘*Afif*, pp. 474-75.

4. According to *Sīrat Jauna Shāh* was given all the *chātr*, *marātib* elephants, stables, treasury, *vilāyat*, *amlāk*, gardens, canals, sarais and bazars of his father. *Sīrat*, f. 152. Also see ‘*Afif*, pp. 426-27.

5. *Sīrat*, ff. 151-53; ‘*Afif*, p. 482.

6. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 151 f; *Tab. Akbari*, pp. 155-62.

these. In the same connection he says that the motto of the previous rulers was, "If you want to maintain the stability of the kingdom, then keep the sword in action." He reversed this policy and had verses of an exactly opposite import inscribed on a dome of the Jum'a mosque. *Sīrat* says that operations or nasal hæmorrhage were the only cases of blood being spilt. *Fīrōz Shāh* claims that his clemency led not to disorders, but to tranquillity and peace.¹

He abolished a large number of taxes and reformed currency so as to make it more convenient for the poorer classes. He dug several canals which led to the extension of cultivation and habitation of erstwhile arid tracts. He built many other works of public utility, e.g., mosques, *khānqāhs*, wells, gardens, madrasas, etc. In the selection of his officers, he took care to choose men who would deal with the people with leniency and justice.² The names of the previous Sultāns of Delhi had been omitted from the Friday and the 'Id *Khutbas* (sermons). *Fīrōz Shāh* included the names of all important Sultāns, from *Shihāb-ud-dīn Sām* to *Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, along with their titles in these *Khutbas*. Curiously enough the name of *Qutb-ud-dīn 'Aibak* is not in the list.³

Fīrōz Shāh took personal interest in the condition of the prisoners. Whenever he returned to the capital after having been out for some time, he would inquire about the prisoners and release such of them as had undergone long imprisonment. Some prisoners were exiled to other places, but *Fīrōz Shāh* saw to it that provision was made for their livelihood by granting them allowances. During his later years, *Fīrōz's* interest in the prisoners increased, and reports about them were laid before him on the first day of each lunar month.⁴ Yet in spite of *Fīrōz's* interest, sometimes prisoners had to undergo great hardships,⁵ probably owing to the negligence and hard-heartedness of the prison staff.

Whenever *Fīrōz Shāh* returned to the capital, he ordered the *kōtwāl* to make enquiries about the unemployed. The *kōtwāl* summoned the *moḥalladars* (influential men in *moḥallas* or quarters of the city) and enquired from them about the unemployed in their localities. The *moḥalladars* brought the unemployed men of good birth and education from their respective *moḥallas* to the *kōtwāl*. The latter took down their names with necessary particulars and presented them before the Sultān. He recognised them by the name of their elders and provided each of them with some work. Those who were men of education and literary merit (*ahl-i-qalam*) were taken into the *kārkhānas*; those with clerical training were handed over to *Khān-i-Jahān* for employment in some office. Those who wanted to enter into the service of some noble or *iqṭā'dār*, were respectively handed over to them in the Sultān's presence

1. *Futūḥāt*, pp. 2-4; *Sīrat*, f. 107, 119-23; '*Afif*, pp. 20-21; *Baranī*, pp. 547, 549-52.

2. *Baranī*, p. 575. Details of all these reforms have been described elsewhere in my monograph.

3. *Futūḥāt*, p. 5, *Sīrat-i-Fīrōz Shāhi*, f. 126-28; '*Afif*, pp. 105-107.

4. '*Afif*, pp. 509-11.

5. '*Afif*, pp. 494-96.

or sent to them with royal orders.¹

It should, however, be kept in mind that this affected only the upper class and the educated unemployed.

Fīrōz Shāh made provision for the marriage of poor girls. A separate department was created for this purpose and was known as Diwān-i-Khairāt. He let it be known that any one who had a daughter of marriageable age and lacked the wherewithal for her marriage, should apply to the Diwān-i-Khairāt. The officials of the Diwān made enquiries about the circumstances of the applicants and fixed the grade in which these were to be placed according to their status. Those of the first grade were given fifty tankas, those in the second 30 tankas and those in the third 25 tankas.² Poor Musalmans and widows came to the capital from all parts of the empire to get the names of their daughters registered in the Diwān-i-Khairāt. Several thousand poor girls were enabled to get married in this fashion.

We learn from *Sīrat* that, the Diwān-i-Khairāt was situated before the Jum'a Mosque of Fīrōzābād and that it gave grants for the marriage of poor boys also.³

A Diwān-i-Istihqāq was created for giving financial help to the deserving people. It had an officer of its own. Thirty-six lac tankas annually were set apart for this purpose. About four thousand and two hundred men received help from the Diwān.⁴

Fīrōz Shāh established a hospital, described in contemporary accounts variously as dārushshifā, mārīstān, shifākhāna and shīḥat-khāna. Able physicians were appointed to it. Its dāru-khāna (dispensary) contained numerous medicines and preparations which were supplied free. Even meals were given free to those for whom any particular diet was prescribed. The staff of the hospital were directed to be very polite to patients. The staff consisted of physicians, surgeons, collyrium-chemists and servants. The revenue from certain villages was appropriated to the maintenance of the hospital. Patients from all classes of people derived benefit from the hospital.⁵

Fīrōz Shāh showed great interest in public instruction, particularly in instruction of religious sciences ('Ulūm-i-Dīnī). He established three great colleges known as Madrasa-i-Fīrōz-Shāhi, Madrasa-i-Shāhzāda Fīrōz Khān and a madrasa at Sīrī. In all he built thirty madrasas. The Madrasa-i-Fīrōz Shāhi was situated at the Hauz-i-'Alāi and its building is still extant. Its head was Maulana Jalāl-ud-dīn Rūmī, a scholar of great repute. The subjects taught in these numerous madrasas included

1. 'Afif, pp. 334-35.

2. It is not clear whether the grant was recurring for a certain period, or was non-recurring. Consideration of the amount and of certain words in the passage (viz., waiha, ashkhaṣ-i-kabir, māl-i-kathir) would appear to suggest that the grant was recurring, of course for a certain period. Consideration of convenience, however, would require a non-recurring grant. See 'Afif, pp. 394-51.

3. *Sīrat*, f. 238-39.

4. 'Afif, 359-60.

5. *Sīrat*, f. 235-38; Futūhāt, p. 19; 'Afif, pp. 352-59. Curiously enough the shifākhāna appears to have been used sometimes as a guest-house. See 'Afif, 514.

Fiqh (law), qir'at (the art of reciting the holy Qūr'ān), 'ilmul kalām (philosophy), tafsīr (exegesis), aḥādīth (traditions), ma'ānī-o-bayān (rhetoric and figures of speech), naḥv-wa-ṣarf (grammar), 'ilm-i-nazrī (abstract and speculative sciences), 'ilm-i-riyāḍī (mathematics), 'ilm-i-ṭabī'ī (physical sciences), 'ilm-i-ilāhī (metaphysics), 'ilm-i-ṭibb (science of medicine), 'ilm-i-taḥrīr (clerical training) and khatt (calligraphy). All expenses of education were borne by the state. Teachers of these arts and sciences were paid from the treasury. The students were given scholarships so as to make them free from all financial worries. The head of the Sirī Madrasa was Syed Najm-ud-dīn Samarqandī, a noted teacher.¹

The college at the 'Alāi Hauḍ was placed picturesquely inside a garden. It appears to have been organized on a residential basis. After the lectures the students discussed the problems amongst themselves. They were provided with palatable meals, good drink, and even betel leaves.²

CONCLUSION

The "Tughluq dynasty," as it is generally styled, was founded by a sagacious, strong-minded soldier of ripe experience and great foresight. Coming to the throne at a time when the work of 'Alā-ud-dīn had been undone by his son and the latter's favourite Khusrau, he succeeded in once again restoring the credit of the Sultanate and establishing a strong and efficient administration. He knew when to be firm and when to adopt himself to the needs of the time and accept the legitimate demands of his noblemen. Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Tughluq came to the throne at a time when the empire had been greatly weakened by disorders and mal-administration. His revenue arrangements were both wise and equitable. The finances of the empire were stabilised. In a short time his

1. *Sīrat*, f. 147, 209; *Afif*, pp. 180-81; *Barani*, pp. 562-65; *Tab. Akbari*, p. 241.

2. Extracts from the *Diwān of Muṭahhir*, Oriental College Magazine, May, 1935.

The description given by Muṭahhir of Kara, the leading poet of the age, is very interesting even though marked by obvious exaggeration. His lines regarding the meals and drinks supplied to the students should be taken with a grain of salt. The lines are given below though the text is doubtful at several places.

اندر آورد (ز) در خورد نیش خوان سالار
ماهی و مرغ مسمن بره لوه و قار
زعفران صندل و مشک و همه برافزار (؟)
خشت ولوزینه تر و خشک بهر سوانبار
کرده با شربت حاض شراب آنا
سفره برداشته شد دست کشیدند اخیار
برگ دان های زروسیم گرفته یک بار
دوخته آن گل صدبرگ بیک سورت (سوزن) خار

ساعتی چون شغب و شور وجدل ساکن شد
همه دراج و کبوتر بچه و کبک و کلنگ
ناردان نوشکر ولوز و حوام (فواج) دروے
قرص بریان زلیبا و دگر آرایش (sic)
آبداران همه سردست قدحها جلّه
چون پر داخت زمان محفل از شرب پرش
برگ داران شده در دادن تنبول دران
بیرها (بیڑها) چون گل صد برگ چو . . . گل

government became so well-established that he was able to send two expeditions one after the other to Deccan, the latter of which led to the annexation of Teling. The Sultān himself led an expedition to the east which resulted in the annexation of Sonārgāon and Satgāon, the establishment of imperial suzerainty over Lakhnauti and the reduction of the strong fortress of Tirhut. It was while returning from this expedition that the Sultān met his death in mysterious circumstances. The empire he left was extensive, strong and contented. If the moderate policy of Ghiyāth-ud-dīn had been followed by his successors, the future of the Sultanate would have been more prosperous.

His son and successor, Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a man of great force of character, accomplished and gifted above the average but of a somewhat wayward mind and inelastic nature. His character and personality were as much an enigma to his contemporaries as they are now. His policies and measures, though not fundamentally wrong, show a supreme lack of realism and sense of proportion. He was a perfectionist who refused to take cognizance of the realities of a situation and the susceptibilities of the people. His experiments in coinage, his disastrous expeditions and his disproportionately large rewards gravely impaired the finances of the empire. His excessive taxation in Doāb led to the ruin of its prosperity. A long famine aggravated the scarcity. All his efforts for amelioration foundered on the rock of inefficiency and maladministration. His choice of men was also not happy. Very soon by his policies and treatment he antagonised the nobility, the 'ālims and the mashā'ikh, and the amīrān-i-ṣada, and alienated the sympathy of the people. Rebellions broke out one by one in all parts of the empire. Bengal and the Deccan went out of the pale of the Sultanate. The opposition of the secular and clerical aristocracy and the failure of all his policies greatly irritated him and he pursued his policies all the more relentlessly. He died in Sind while following the rebel Taghi. Though he had come to the throne under very favourable circumstances his reign was a complete failure.

Firōz Shāh thus came to throne in very difficult times. But he brought with him the reputation of being good-natured, kind-hearted and reverent to the religious classes.¹ His accession was acclaimed by all sections of the people and the easy walk-over he had over the opposition of Khwāja Jahān is a measure of his popularity. He gained the good-will of the nobility by his conciliatory attitude and by giving them huge assignments. He pleased the 'ulama and mashā'ikh by his genuinely respectful attitude and by financial grants. He was also very solicitous of the welfare of his subjects and did many things for them.

On the whole the people were contented, prosperous and happy during his reign.² The prosperity was shared by all sections and classes of people. Firōz Shāh gave the people about three decades and a half

1. *Siyarul 'Auliya*, pp. 250-52; *'Afiṣ*, p. 42.

2. See under "Age of Firōz Shāh."

of internal peace and external security. There was no serious disorder or rebellion during his long reign, except towards his last years. The way in which the short-lived revolt of *Shams-ud-dīn Dāmghāni* was suppressed is a tribute to his popularity. The administration, though lax and inefficient, was never oppressive. There appears to have been considerable personal security during his reign.¹ There was no serious invasion from outside during his period.

There is ample internal evidence to show that *Firōz* enjoyed the good-will of all classes. The people regarded him as a good and kind monarch. There can be little doubt that *Firōz Shāh* was a well-intentioned and conscientious monarch and he consistently tried to rule over his subjects well according to his lights.

But when all this has been said in *Firōz's* favour, the conclusion cannot be avoided, that, taking a long view his peaceful reign was not an unmixed blessing and that it was responsible to a very large extent for the decline, not only of the *Tughluq* dynasty, but of the *Delhi Sultanate* itself. The symptoms of decline and decay had already begun to appear during the last phase of the reign. That a serious upheaval or a break-up of the empire was staved off till after his death, was due to the good-will and reverence in which he was held by all sections and classes of the people, the nobility, the bureaucracy, the army, the slaves, the religious classes and the commonalty.

Firōz's weakness and extreme leniency allowed various interests to become powerful and later endanger the stability of the empire. Even though *Firōz's* personal goodness won him the respect and good-will of the people, yet his weakness towards the nobles undermined the prestige of the office of the *Sultān*.²

His policy was admirably suited to heal the wounds of bitterness left by *Muhammad bin Tughluq*. But the perpetuation of those policies over a long period was very undesirable for the state. His long reign allowed the inefficiency and corruption of the bureaucracy, the unrestricted power of the nobles, and lack of respect for constituted authority to develop into a tradition. Power which he had allowed to slip away from his hands his successors could not retrieve and the ground gained by the nobility and bureaucracy could not be recovered. When in his later years, *Firōz* himself tried to rectify the defects of his policy his efforts were secretly resisted and sabotaged by the entire staff of *Diwān-i-Wizārat*.³

The failure of *Firōz's* military expeditions cost the state a great deal and brought disproportionately small returns. The way these affected

1. *T. Mubārak Shāhi*, pp. 140-41.

2. *Firōz Shāh* wanted to take away *Wizārat* from *Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl* (probably on account of his overwhelming power) under the pretext of promotion and to give *Wizārat* to *Zafar Khān*. *Khān-i-Jahān* resented this and *Firōz Shāh* had to give up the idea. *'Afif*, pp. 402-6.

3. The appointment of *Shams-ud-dīn Dāmghāni* to *Gujrāt* and of *Shams-ud-dīn Abū Rajā* to the *Diwān-i-Wizārat* are cases in point. In both cases *Firōz Shāh* aimed at tightening up the revenue administration, but in each case the well-entrenched hierarchy of revenue officials overcame his endeavours.

the finance and still more the military prestige of the Sultanate is obvious. The finances of the empire could not have been satisfactory. A large part of the revenue was alienated in the form of assignments. Arrears were frequently left unrealized. Considerable sums were distributed in the form of allowances and grants. The state was poor, while the nobles and officials were allowed to grow rich.

The nobles grew very rich during Firōz's reign.¹ One of them left behind him thirteen crore of tankas. This wealth as 'Afif points out was a potent cause of the disturbances and disorders after Firōz Shāh.² The nobles won the first round when they forced Firōz Shāh to agree to the execution of Khwāja Jahān. Firōz Shāh showed his weakness against the nobles again in the Khān-i-Jahān-Ainul Mulk episode.

The Hindu upper classes in towns as well as villages, Sāhās (a trading community), sarrāf (goldsmiths and bankers) *khuj* and muqaddams grew not only prosperous and rich but defiant and headstrong during the reign. During the later years of Firōz's reign the Hindu rā'īs and rājās had already begun to show signs of contumacy. The period after Firōz is marked by the insubordination of the Hindu aristocracy.³

The slaves, on account of their large numbers, favoured position and their separate organization soon became a power in the state. During the last years of Firōz Shāh, they had already begun to take a hand in the political game. For a few years after him, they remained a very serious disturbing factor. They took part in the making and unmaking of sultāns and ministers. It was with great difficulty and after considerable slaughter that their power was broken by Muḥammad Shāh bin Firōz in 792/1390.⁴ But even after that they continued to give trouble.

The moral tone of Muslim society was undermined. This was the most important and basic factor in the decline of the Tughluq dynasty and the Delhi Sultanate. The Musalmans in India were in a minority. In order to maintain their power, it was necessary for them to keep up their fighting spirit, their strength of character and their public virtues. Firōz Shāh's policy of free distribution of assignments, his grant of allowances and financial help in one form or another to the various classes of people weakened the urge to strive and struggle for livelihood and promotion and made them parasitic. General contentment led to a life of ease and indolence. Firōz Shāh, by his wide-spread munificence, was unwillingly encouraging drones in the society. 'Afif significantly remarks that "the people of Delhi forgot war and the profession of arms lost all dignity." The grit of Muslim society was gravely undermined.

The interference of the 'ulama and *mashā'ikh* in the administration seriously affected its unity and effectiveness. The lower section of the

1. 'Afif, pp. 297, 439-40, 472.

2. 'Afif p. 440.

3. E.g., See Mubārak Shāhi, pp. 148, 153, 156. Also see *Munshāt-i-Māhru*, f. 93.

4. *Mub.*, pp. 136-50; Also see 'Afif, p. 283.

religious classes set a very bad example by their cupidity and by exploiting their privileged position. On the whole their influence was unwholesome.

That Firōz Shāh was able to give his subjects three decades and a half of peace, prosperity and contentment and to win good-will and respect for himself is the measure of his success. That his policies were largely responsible for the decline of his dynasty and of the Delhi Sultanate is the measure of his failure. Napoleon's words apply well to him : " The goodness of a king must always bear a regal stamp and must never be monkish. The love which a king inspires should invariably be a manly love, wedded to reverence, fear and esteem. If people speak of him as a good man his rule is a failure."¹

THE DECAY OF THE SULTANATE

The reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq resulted in a considerable shrinkage of the empire and virtual breakdown of the administration. The reign of Firōz Shāh sapped the strength of Muslim society and administration and started centrifugal tendencies. Symptoms of disintegration were already visible during the last years of his reign. Soon after him the outlying provinces became practically independent. The Sultanate shrunk to Doāb, Delhi and a number of districts west of Delhi. His successors were all men of small stature and passed their time in petty squabbles, intrigues and internecine wars in which the nobility and the Firōz Shāhi slaves took a leading part. Monarchy lost all prestige and the Sultāns were reduced to mere puppets. For a number of years there were two contending Sultāns—one in old Delhi (Sīri) and the other in Firōzābād—who were being used as pawns in the game by too ambitious nobles. They were still busy with it when the advanced guard of Tīmūr invaded India under his grandson (800 A.H./1398). It is remarkable that this serious invasion and its first successes in upper Sind did not in the least affect the activities of these nobles and their protégés who continued to play the game of their petty ambitions as seriously as ever. In 801/1399 Tīmūr entered India on his whirlwind invasions. Cities and forts fell to him like ripe fruits. Slaughter, destruction and desolation followed his footsteps. Soon he was at the gates of the capital. The imperial forces broke up and fled after the first encounter. Nāṣir-ud-dīn Maḥmūd, the last Qarauna Sultān, escaped from the capital, " leaving his women and children behind "² and ran away to Gujrat. The imperial capital was given up to rapine and slaughter. Tīmūr's invasion precipitated and completed the process of disintegration. It was a blow from the effects of which the Muslim state took a long time to recover. The Muslim ruling class failed to throw up any man of dominating personality who, like Balban, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī or

1. Emil Ludwig—*Napoleon*.

2. T. Mubārak Shāhi, p. 166. He returned a few years after Tīmūr's departure to rule his shrunken kingdom for 11 years more.

Ghiyath-ud-dīn Tughluq, could step in and stop the process of disintegration. It was only with the advent of the Lōdis to the throne that the Sultanate began to regain a part of its lost prestige and power.

RIAZUL ISLAM.

ISMĀ'ĪLĪ PROPAGANDA AND FATIMID RULE IN SIND

THE North African dominion acquired by the Fatimids served them as a starting-point and a base whence to pursue the conquest of the whole empire of Islam. That ultimate aim was to be achieved by two different methods: by way of direct territorial expansion on the one hand—the conquest of Egypt being the classical example—and by permeation through the *da'wa* on the other. The *da'wa* itself, that most characteristic institution of Ismā'ilism, consisted, in one of its aspects, of individual missionary work among the public; another equally, or even more important side of it was to gain the adherence to the Fatimid cause of as many local rulers as possible. It cannot be said that, as far as that last point goes, the *da'wa* was very successful; its achievements in that field were but short-lived. The conversion of the Samanid Naṣr b. Aḥmad ended in a catastrophe; nor did the Ismā'īlī sympathies of princes like Asfār b. Shīrōya or Ibn Sīmjūr and others lead to any substantial results.

Perhaps the only place, where the work of the mission ended in the establishment of an Ismā'īlī principality under Fatimid sovereignty, was that farthest province of Islam, Sind.¹ The study of the Ismā'īlī *da'wa*, whenever the scarcity of our sources permits it, is always an absorbing subject. The *da'wa* in Sind, for which there is at our disposal some odd documentation—to be called substantial only if compared with that available for most of other phases of the *da'wa*—claims our special attention by its singular political success. Moreover, one of the figures in the Ismā'īlī history of Sind is revealed by our sources as representing a quite extraordinary trend in the Ismā'īlī movement.

According to the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān—and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of his information—the *da'wa* in Sind goes back to the early days of the Ismā'īlī movement. Abu-l-Qāsim b. Ḥaushab²

1. Ismā'ilism in Sind has recently formed the subject of studies by H. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta 1931, vol. I, ch. I; S. Nadyi, *Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquest, Islamic Culture*, VIII, 1934, pp. 600-20 (the material used in these works is mainly that contained in the classical work of Elliot-Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, London, 1867-77, vols. I-II, *passim*); and especially B. Lewis, *Ismā'īlī Notes II*, B.S.O.S. XII, 1948, pp. 599-600.

2. A copy, written 1310 A.H., was kindly put at my disposal by Mr. Shamoon, the passage in question is on p. 147. The article *Multān* in the *Enc. of Islam* says: "At this time (*viz.*, 900 A.D.) it was seized by 'Abd Allah the Karmatī, and became a stronghold of the Karmatian heretics who were crushed and expelled by the orthodox Mahmūd of Ghazni." This is due to a misunderstanding. The authority referred to (MacLagan, *Gazetteer of the Multān District*, Lahore, 1902), speaks (pp. 32-33) of "one Abdulla (scil. Ibn Maymun) called Karmat (sic) whose followers, towards the end of the tenth century seized Multān."

well known under the name of Maṣṣūr al-Yaman— "sent his cousin, al-Haitham, as a *dā'ī* to the country of Sind; the latter converted many of its inhabitants and his *da'wa* is still existing in Sind." The *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa* of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, whence the preceding quotation, was written in the year 346 A.H. (957 A.D.); of the conditions existing in Sind at that time we have curious details in another book of al-Nu'mān, written only a few years later.

In the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt* of al-Nu'mān¹ there is a paragraph devoted to the doings of a "heretic" *dā'ī*—heretic from the official Ismā'īlī point of view—in a "certain distant province" and to the events which ended in a virtuous and in every way acceptable successor being substituted for him. It was possible to guess from the beginning—owing to indications like the mention of the great idol, which could only be the idol of Multān—that the account in question referred to the mission in Sind. This conjecture was fully borne out by the *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* of 'Imād-al-dīn Idrīs where the whole paragraph from al-Nu'mān's book is quoted,² accompanied by a few introductory lines lifting the anonymity which, alas, is a regular feature of the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt*. We can be sure that Idrīs had at his disposal certain sources on the history of the Sind *da'wa* independent of the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt*; those sources enabled him to supply the missing name of the loyal *dā'ī*, appointed instead of the heretic. Moreover, he was able even to quote passages from some epistles addressed by al-Mu'izz to the same *dā'ī*. (Idrīs does not, unfortunately, specify the source from which his additional information is derived.)

The passages from the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt* and the *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* will be given in *extenso*; we may summarize the data furnished by them as follows.

In the time of al-Mu'izz there was in charge of the mission of Sind a *dā'ī* whose views and whose conduct were utterly at variance with the Ismā'īlī orthodoxy taught by the Imām and his close associates. Not only did he adopt a latitudinarian attitude towards those members of his flock who had made a direct passage from their old religion³ to Ismā'ilism—whom he allowed to keep many of the un-Islamic practices of their former religion—but he even relaxed certain statutes of Islam

1. Copy in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the year 1315, very carelessly written; it contains the second volume only (see B.S.O.S., VII, 1933, p. 34). The passage in question is on fol. 106 ff.

2. Copy of Mr. Shamoon, (written in 1290), VI, 188 ff.

3. Al-Nu'mān says that old religion was that of the *Majūs*, this is probably a vague denomination for Hindus. [This does not exclude the possibility that there might have been Zoroastrians among the inhabitants of Sind]. It is difficult to see how Foucher (*Ancient Multan, Woolner Commemoration Volume*, p. 90; *La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila, Memoires de la Délégation Française en Afghanistan*, II (Paris, 1947), p. 266, 268, deduces from the passage of al-Bīrūnī, *India*, trad. Sachau, I, 21, that the temple of Multan was "desservi par des 'mages,'" by "brahmanes-mages," implying some kind of Zoroastrian-Hindu syncretism.

for those who had been Muslims before joining Ismā'ilism. In this passage his permitting infringements of the Islamic dietary laws and laws concerning forbidden degrees in marriage is specifically adduced; other passages in the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt*, which almost certainly refer to the same heretical *dā'ī* of Sind, charge him with dangerously heterodox views in points of doctrine.¹ As al-Mu'izz is reported by al-Nu'mān to have frankly said, he could not think of dismissing the *dā'ī*. The latter commanded the full respect of the people of his *da'wa* and any intervention from the Imām would have led to trouble.

As far as political success was concerned, the *dā'ī* of Sind had an important achievement to his credit: he succeeded in winning over to the Fatimid cause one of the rulers of Sind.² The sovereignty of al-Mu'izz was openly proclaimed, and the *khutba* read in his name. With the help of the princely convert, the Ismā'ilis of Sind were able to defeat a coalition of the rulers of the country which attacked them and to consolidate their position; the fortress which the Ismā'ilis made their capital and *dār hijra* is probably no other but the city of Multan.

While the *dā'ī* was thus engaged in advancing the Fatimid cause, the court in Manṣūriyya was secretly intriguing in order to bring about his downfall. An opportune riding accident, however, rendered any further efforts unnecessary and delivered the Imām from his zealous, but heretical, servant. He was succeeded by a prominent member of that part of the Sindi *da'wa* which kept strictly to the orthodox tenets prescribed by the Imām. We are told that secret letters addressed to him by the Imām, enjoining him to arrange for the elimination of the heretic *dā'ī*, were already on the way when the latter died. The name of the new *dā'ī* was Ḥalam (or Ḥalīm) b. *Shaibān*.³

It was but natural that the first concern of the new *dā'ī* was to do away with the religious abuses of his predecessor. He, of course, made it a point to act only after the closest consultation with the Imām. Not only was he intent on enforcing a strict Islamic orthodoxy in the conduct of the *da'wa*, but also went out of his way to destroy the famous idol of Multan.

We can date these events with sufficient certainty: the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt* was written in 351 A.H. (or very soon afterwards). Moreover, an epistle of al-Mu'izz to Ḥalam⁴ bears the date 354 A.H.

1. These guardedly worded passages are precious documents about forgotten, or rather suppressed, trends in Ismā'ilism; I shall analyse them on another occasion.

2. Possibly a member of the old Quraishite ruling family; see below, note 1, p. 6.

3. '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, vol. VI, constantly writes *Ḥalm*; al-Bīrūnī (see below) has *Ḥalm*, which is to be restored to *Ḥalm*. Curiously, '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, vol. V—both in the copy used by Ivanow (see next note) and that before me (written by a scribe different from that who wrote vol. VI)—has the form *Ḥalm*, which was, however, in the copy used by me corrected to *Ḥalm*.

4. '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, VI, 214 ff.—An extract from another epistle of al-Mu'izz to Ḥalam is to be found in vol. V of the '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār* (Mr. Shamoan's copy, p. 250); it has been printed by Ivanow, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.*, 1940, pp. 74-76. Ivanow seems to have a slight doubt about the genuineness of the document, which is of capital importance; I shall give the proof of its authenticity in a forthcoming study on the Qarmatians of Iraq.

The author of the *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* introduces that epistle with the following words: "There arrived a letter from him (*viz.*, Ḥalam) in which he mentioned the victory which God had granted him in the *jazīra* (the Ismā'īlī term for a "diocese" under the jurisdiction of a *dā'i*) of Sind and the dominion which the Friends of God had acquired there. He mentioned that he had broken the idol, for the destruction of which he had previously asked the Imām's permission. He addressed to the Imām certain questions concerning the restoration of religion and the abolition of the changes introduced by the wicked *dā'i*, who had wandered upon the path of transgressors. He also consulted the Imām about several matters concerning law (*fiqh*) and permitted and prohibited things (*al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*) and about problems of allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*), the knowledge of which has been given by God to the People of Meditation (*ahl al-dhikr*), Imām after Imām. The Imām answered him by a *sijill* which is very famous and well known and is written down in the pages of the books."

The first one of the extracts from the epistle does not concern the affairs of Sind: al-Mu'izz gives an account of the victories gained over the Byzantines. But after this extract the *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* gives another one, too, reading as follows:¹ "Referring to what you have written: that God has granted you a victory over those who had attacked you and wanted to oust you from your place; that terrible battles have been fought between you, till God gave you the victory, by His help and assistance and you exterminated them completely; that you destroyed their idol and built a mosque on its site---what a great favour, what

1. Vol. VI, p. 219.

و الذى وصفته ما هياه الله لكم على من بغى عليكم وزحف اليكم ليز عجمكم عن مستقركم وما دار بينكم وبينهم من القتال المهل الى ان وهبكم الله النصر وامتكم بالمعونة والتأييد وقتلتوهم ابرح قتل واقتلتم صنم القوم وجعلتم موضعه مسجدا جامعيا لها نعمة ما اعظمها وفضلا ما اوضحه وايينده اعظم اجره وابقى فخره ملا قلوبنا فرحا وسرورا ورضى الله ربنا ومولانا وخررنا ساجدين لله شاكرين حامدين الخ ولقد كنا نحب ان لو اط تلطفت لقت (لوان تلطفت Sic. MS.; read في حمل راس هذا الصنم اوفى ما تعدته من بعد هذا ويقدركم الله عز وجل عليه فتعمد على حمل روسها الينا فان لكم في ذلك فخرا باقيا وتحريكا لاجوانكم المومنين قبلنا وزيادة في نشاطهم ورغبتهم في الاجتماع معكم للتعاون على اقامة حق الله فقد قرب من انجاز وعد الله لنا ما بعد والحمد لله كما هو اهله ووليه وقال صلى الله عليه فيما ختم به السجل المذكور انفذنا اليك من اعلامنا المنصورة سبعة اعلام تنشرها عند الاحتياج اليها فما نشرت على المومنين بموقف الا زادهم الله بها عزا وحياهم بنصره ولا على كافر ولا مشرك الا اذلته بعزها وقهرته بقدرة المنعم علينا بما هو اهله عرفك الله ومن قبلك بر كاتها الخ :

manifest and palpable excellence and lasting glory is that from God ! We would be very much pleased if you could send us the head of that dol ; it would accrue to your lasting glory and would inspire your brethren at our end to increase their zeal and their desire to unite with you in a common effort in the cause of God. The realization of God's promise to us, which used to seem so remote, has, indeed, become imminent." According to the '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār* the last paragraph of the epistle read : " We have sent you some of our banners, which you can unfurl in case of need. Whenever they are unfurled over the heads of the believers God increases their glory by the banners and hails them with His assistance ; on the other hand, when they are unfurled over the heads of the unbelievers, the banners humiliate their pride and overwhelm them by the power of God Who is our Benefactor. . . . Written on Sunday, the 19th of Ramaḍān, of the year 354."

The author of the '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār* adds that the sending of the banners to Sind constitutes the realization of the prophecy handed down in the name of 'Alī : " The rule of the House of Moḥammad, blessings of God be on him, will be completed when the banners will appear coming from Sind."

In another passage¹ quoted by the '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār* the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān summarizes the Ismā'īlī achievements in Sind as follows : " The *da'wa* of the Ruler of the Epoch (*walī al-zamān*) has emerged victoriously in Sind, his faithful followers earned glory ; his *dā'ī* there conquered the ruler of the kingdom of Sind who was a Zoroastrian, killed him and his men and destroyed the idol which they used to worship and made a mosque of the temple in which the idol used to stand." We might compare a passage from al-Bīrūnī : (*India*, trad. Sachau, I, 116) " When the Qarmatians occupied Multan, Jalam (read Ḥalam) Ibn Shāibān, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces and killed its priests. He converted its mansion which was a castle built on an elevated place into a mosque and ordered the old mosque to be closed down out of hatred for everything that had been built under the Umayyad caliphs."

We have not much information about the subsequent affairs of the Fatimid " colony " in Sind. We do not know even the exact nature of the relations between the *dā'ī* and that " proselyte king " (*al-malik al-mustajīb*) whose help brought about the victory of the Fatimid cause. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that the epistles of the Imām are addressed to the *dā'ī* ; on the other hand even the passage of al-Bīrūnī speaks as if the temporal rule were in the hands of the *dā'īs*. Nevertheless we may perhaps assume that Fatimid Sind was under a kind of dual government, the king and his descendants being in charge of the temporal affairs under the spiritual guidance of the *dā'īs*. The contemporary geographers who mention the Fatimid sovereignty over Sind

1. Vol. VI., p. 222. The passage is probably from vol. I of the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt*, which I did not have the opportunity to read.

seem to indicate such a state of affairs, although they do not give any details in this connection.

Al-Muqaddasī, who visited Sind in 375 A.H., writes (ed. De Goeje, p. 485): "In Multān the *khutba* is in the name of the Fatimid and all decisions are taken according to his commands. Their envoys and presents go regularly to Egypt. He (the ruler of Sind) is a powerful and just ruler."¹ Speaking of the religious doctrines prevalent in the province, al-Muqaddasī says (p. 481): "The inhabitants of Multān are *Shī'a* who use the formula *ḥayy 'alā khair al-'amal* in the call to prayer and employ a double *iqāma*."

The information given by al-Muqaddasī's contemporary, the anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (about 372 A.H.), is to the same effect (translation of Minorsky, p. 89): "The governor is a Quraishite from the descendants of Sām[a].² He lives at a camp half a parasang from Multan and recites the *khutba* in the name of the Western One (*bar Maghribī*)."³ (It is puzzling how it comes about that the Ismā'īlī Ibn Ḥauqal, whose knowledge of Fatimid affairs is ordinarily very good and who wrote after the establishment of the Fatimid rule in Multan, does not mention it at all.)

Ismā'īlī rule in Multān was brought to an end by Maḥmūd of Ghazna. In 396 he made tributary the Ismā'īlī ruler whose name is given by the historians—the earliest being Gardizī—as Abu-l-Futūḥ Dā'ūd b. Naṣr; in 401 he occupied Multān and took captive Abu-l-Futūḥ.³ We may assume with some degree of probability that this Abu-l-Futūḥ was a descendant (grandson?) of the ruler converted to Ismā'ilism in the time of al-Mu'izz.

The later phases of the history of Ismā'ilism in Sind and in India stand in no direct connection with this first successful attempt to establish a territorial rule in Sind; they are, therefore, outside the scope of the present article.

ARABIC TEXT

The following is from the *Kitāb al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt* of the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān according to the London manuscript. The text has been compared with the *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* which quotes the passage in

1. In manuscript Istanbul (see notes to De Goeje's edition) there is an addition about Mukrān: "I heard that to-day they say the *khutba* for the Maghribī (=the Fatimid)."

2. If this information is correct, it follows that it was the old dynasty, allegedly of the Quraish clan of Sāma b. Lu'ayy, who converted to Ismā'ilism and who continued to rule under Fatimid sovereignty. (About the old dynasty of Multan, cf. for example, Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, 14 ff. and Nadvi, l. c.); the only authorities are the standard Arabic geographers of the period, like Ibn Khurdadbeh, al-Mas'ūdī, Istakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal.

3. See M. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, pp. 96-99,—Later Indian historians like Firishṭa pretend to know about a "Sheikh Hamid Lodi" of the Afghan extraction who was the grandfather of Abu-l-Futūḥ; the stories they relate are very doubtful and may be pure inventions.

its entirety.¹ There has been no attempt to give a 'critical' text, for which my materials are insufficient; nor did it seem, under the circumstances, to serve any useful purpose. To give textual notes on the divergencies of the versions out of which I have constructed my text. The quotation in the 'Uyūn usually has a superior text and I used it freely to correct the very faulty original.

وكان بعض الدعاة بجزيرة نائية في صقع بعيد يدعو الى اولياء الله بعد دعاة تقدموا قبله في المكان الذي هو فيه و استجاب لهم قبله و اليه خلق عظيم من اهل تلك الناحية و عامة اهلها مجوس ولكن قد كان الاسلام فشا فيهم قديما فاتصل بامير المؤمنين المعز لدين الله من ان هذا الداعي الاخر قد أحدث فيهم حدثا و ذلك انه دعا عالما كثيرا من المجوس و هم على دينهم لم يسلموا و تركهم على ما هم عليه يستحلون من محارم الله ما كانوا يستحلون ما نهى الله عنه ما كان يعملون من نكاح ذوات المحارم و تناول ما لا يحل من المشارب و المطاعم تعديا منه بحدود الله و وضعوا لآمانته عز اسمه عند من لا يحل وضعها عنده لعاجل دنيا أراد نيله بذلك منهم واستكثرنا فيها حسنه سو' رايه له بهم ثم تعدى ذلك به الى ان أباح من محارم الله تع لبعض اهل دعوته من المسلمين وغيرهم -

فعظم على امير المؤمنين ص من ذلك ما تناهى اليه و اكبره و تبرأ الى الله منه ولعنه و اهمه امره و اشتغل صدره و كان قد انفذ اليه رسلا من قبله و طوى عنه ما هو عليه و سال الامام عليه السلام الرسل عن ذلك فاعلموه به و كان فيهم خير فعرفهم عظيم ما ارتكبه من ذلك فتبرؤوا منه و تابوا الى الله عز وجل و الى ولي الله من اتباعه على امره و دعاهم و طهرهم ثم سألهم و من بالحضرة من اهل الناحية غيرهم عن افضل من فيهم فسموا رجلا فكتب اليه بالعمل على اهل تلك الناحية و اطلاع من يثق به من

1. The quotation in the 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār is introduced by the following passage.

وكان فتح السند لامير المؤمنين المعز لدين الله سلام الله عليه و كان في تلك الجزيرة احد الدعاة ممن خلط و غير و استجاب على يديه قوم كثير من المجوس فتر لهم على كثير ما هو محرم في الاسلام ما يستحلون في دينهم و كان قد بلغ امير المؤمنين المعز لدين الله ع م امره فاستأله و استعظمه تواضعاته و احيا لمة جده محمد رسول الله و كتب الى اهل دعوته بالسند برفض ذلك الداعي المغير لدين الله و اعتزله لتضييعه الواجب عليه في دين الله من النهي عن المنكر و الامر بالمعروف في اقواله و افعاله و اقام الداعي حلم بن شيان في الجزيرة لما هو عليه من العبادة و الاستقامة و حسن النية و صفاء السريرة فلم يصل كتاب امير المؤمنين عليه السلام الا وقد هلك ذلك الذي توانا فيما يجب عليه و اقام المومنون حلم ابن شيان حتى يواذنوا الامام عليه السلام و ينهوا امرهم اليه و قد قص ذلك القاضي النعمان ابن محمد رضوان الله عليه في بعض ما ألفه حيث قال و كان بعض الدعاة بجزيرة نائية الخ -

المومنين قبله المخلصين على ذلك و استعمال الحيلة في قتل عدو الله المرتد عن دينه المبتدع ما ابتدعه و نسخ بدعته و اظهار دين الله على ما امر الله و اولياؤه به و انفذ اولائك الرسل بذلك و بكتاب اليه جوابا عن كتابه و بما رأى ان يكتب به اليه - ¹

و عرفنا ذلك في الوقت اهل خاصة مجلسه و تفرج بما اغتم به من ذلك الينا تفضلا و تطلولامنه و قد ذكرت طرفا من ذلك فيما مضى من هذا الكتاب و كنا نترقب ما نخشى ان يحدث عن ذلك في تلك الناحية ترقبه المشفقين و قلنا قوم تطاعموا المحارم فما الذي يردهم عنها و قد فشت فيهم و صارت ديننا عندهم و كان خوفنا على المكتوب اليه اغلب من الرجاء في هلاك الفاسق المبدل غير ان نرجع في ذلك الى الثقة بالله لوليه و انه كما عوده يبلغه ما يرجوه و يوصله -

فما كان الا بقدر وصول الرسل الى المكان و انصرفهم اذ جاء رسل اخرون من تلك الجهة بكتب و امانات حملوها فادخلهم ع م اليه فقبلوا الارض بين يديه و مرغوا خدودهم تقربا اليه و حمدوا الله و شكروه على ان بلغهم اليه و اداناهم و قربهم منه و بعد من حضر في مجلسه عنه بحسب ما يجد لمكان سر ان اخذ معهم فيه فسألهم عن الحال فتكلموا بكلام طويل بينهم نسمعه و لم نصرف الاسماع اليه تقية من ان يكون ما لا ينبغي لنا سماعه و ننظر الى وجهه يتهلل لما سمعه و يكثر من حمد الله حتى اذا انقضى كلامهم و انصرفوا التفت الينا متهللا مستبشرا مسرورا فقال قد سمعتم كلام القوم فقلنا سمعناه و لم نفهم صلى الله عليك فقال فاسمعوه :

ذكروا ان الله ع ج قد كثر اهل دعوتنا و اولياءنا قبلهم و ان كان هذا الفاسق قد بث ما بثه فيهم فانه لم يشتهر عنه كل الاشتهار و لم يكن اطلع عليه الا اهل ثقته و من قرب منه و ان الله تعالى اقبل بملك من ملوك اهل الناحية له قوة و منعة و عدة و رجال و استجاب الى الدعوة بمن معه و صار في حزب المومنين و قوى به امرهم و اظهروه و اعلنوا باسمي و شهره و كتبوه على الاعلام و خطبوا به على المنابر و ان ملوك الناحية انكروا ذلك عليهم فاقبلوا بجمع عظمة اليهم لايحصي عددها ولا يبلغ عدد المومنين عشر معاشرها فلما رأى ذلك الملك المستجيب و اصحابه اجتمعوا في موضع واحترفوا عليهم خندقا فها هو الا ان وصل عدوهم اليه ردموه لكثرتهم ساعة و وصلهم اليه و اقتحموه عليهم فامر ذلك الملك المستجيب اصحابه بالحملة و جماعة المومنين و قد حسنت بصيرته و خلصت نيته فقالوا له على من نحمل و بين ايدينا عدد الثرى فقال لا تنظروا الى ما بين ايديكم من الملا و لكن انظروا الى السماء فان من عليها معكم وهو

1. Al-Nu'mān probably refers to the passages mentioned above, note 1, p. 3. That is probably a nice way of saying that al-Mu'izz, while working at the ruin of the dā'i, conceived his letter to him in the usual friendly style.

ناصركم و مويدكم. فحملوا حملة صدق بنيات خالصة و حمل جباعتهم فانهزم الملا بين ايديهم من عدوهم و منحهم الله اكثافهم و قتلوا منهم ما لا يحصى عددا و غنموا من اموالهم و سلاحهم و كراعهم ما امتلات منه ايديهم و فرق الله جمع عدوهم و اقبل الناس من حولهم بالطاعة لهم و التسليم لامرهم فدانت لهم مدن كثيرة واستعملوا عليها عمالا و اظهروا فيها دعوتنا و حازوا لانفسهم معقلا حصينا بقلعة شاهقة منيعة قطنوا بها و اتخذوها دار هجرة -

والداعي اللعين المبدل فيهم يعتقدون طاعته لولايتنا و يعظمون امره اذ كان يدعوا اليها فما هو الا ان انتهى الرسل الذين حملناهم في امره الى ادنى عمل الجزيرة ولم يبق بينهم و بين الموضع الا مسيرة شهر حتى اذن الله تع في الفاسق بما اردناه بلا غنت ولا تكلف فطرقة بغلته اعجله الموت فيها عن ان يوصى لاحد عوضه ولا ان يقدم احدا مكانه و يكون قد سد مسده و قام مقامه وكفى الله مؤنته و بلغنا في عفاف ما اردناه منه بفضلته و نعمته و ما عودناه من جميل عادته -

و لما هلك عدو الله اجتمع الدعاة فيمن يقيمون مقامه الى وقت مطالعتنا فوق اختيارهم و اتفاقهم على الرجل الذي اخترناه واقمناه و كتبنا اليه لما اراد الله تع من تاليف امرهم و اجتماع كلمتهم و ظهور امرهم على عدوهم ليقيموه عليهم ويرسلوا رسلا من قبلهم لمطالعتنا بامرهم فاكبر ذلك الرجل ذلك من امرهم وقال لهم اذ قد اتفق راياكم على فاسمعوا مني قالوا نعم نسمع و نطيع لك فاختر اربعة منهم و قال لهم تكونون على الجميع و يكون كل داع الى اهل دعوته و اكون انا النافذ برسالة الجاعة الى الحضرة فما امر به ولي الله امثلناه و من اقامه لنا سمعنا منه و اطعناه و اختار رجالا للقدوم معه علينا و قدم فلم يسر الا بعض ايام حتى لقيته رسلنا ففرح و استبشر بلقا ثمهم و سالهم عن الحال فدفعوا اليه كتابا بنا اليه و كتبنا الى جاعة الدعاة بما امرناهم به في الخائن فانصرف الى مكانه و بعث بالقوم الذين كانوا معه بما حمله اليها و كتاب المومنين الذين وافاه الكتاب من عندهم من اهل الناحية و كتابه اليها هذان و تناول الكتابين عنهما فقرأهما علينا بنفسه الى اخرها فسمعنا من كلام الرجل في كتابه ما لم نجد فيه لفظا ساقطة و لا معنى فاسدا و وقفنا من لفظه و معانيه على ما وثقنا لولى الله بقيامه له و ذكر مسرته و ابتهاجه و ما انتهى اليه (من) امر ولى الله بما امره به و احياء من دين الله تع وما كانوا انكروه ما فشا من الخائن من تغيير الدين و تبديل الملة و ارتكاب محارم الله و ذكروا ذلك في كتابهم و طالع الرجل بما يعمل عليه في دعوة من صار من المجوس الى دين الاسلام كما يجب ثم اخذ عليهم بعد ان يسلموا كما ينبغي و شاور في كثير من اعماله

و مايجريه من اموره و ذكر صنم معبودا قبله يحج المجوس اليه كحج المسلمين الى البيت
الحرام في كل عام فطالع في كسره و تعفیه اثره و في اشياء كثيرة يطول بها الكتاب من
امره و استمد ولى الله من علمه و اقتبس من نوره ما يعمل به و يذيعه فيمن قبله -

فما ندري كيف نصف ما كان من ابتهاجنا بذلك و موقعه من قلوبنا بما اجراه الله
منه على يد وليه و سيره له و منحه من نعمه فيه و عولنا على تقبيل الارض بين يديه و حمدنا
الله و شكرناه بما قدرنا عليه و استطعناه و سالناه انجاز وعده لوليه و بلوغنا اليه -

S. M. STERN.

THE WAHHĀBIS IN WESTERN ARABIA IN 1803-4 A.D.

A MS. of mixed contents in the British Museum (Add. 26, 275. fols. 33b.—35a.) includes a short account in Persian, of the Wahhābi incursion into the Hījāz and the Yaman during the year 1218 H. (1803-4 A.D.). According to Rieu¹ the author is a certain Munshī Hājī ‘Abdullāh Makkī, but this description is not quite certain.

The Persian style is stiffly correct and at times rather antiquated for the period.² Some of the expressions employed, especially where Arabic elements are involved, may be described as quite un-Persian, *e.g.*, قطاع الطريق and داوات مذکورین. These facts tend to support a hypothesis that Persian is not the writer's (or the copyist's) mother-tongue, but a language artificially acquired, imperfectly absorbed and remembered. One or two words are Urdu, such as لوث, and the Christian date is given using the English form of the name "January." It is appropriate to remark that other treatises in the same volume are Indian. It is suggested therefore that the author was an Indian, either permanently or temporarily resident in Mocha where this account was perhaps composed.

The hand is a bold, often hurried, *shikasteh*, with certain marked Indian formations, as alif-lām, lām-alif, and the above-mentioned لوث (Urdu لوث booty).

The postscript in which the author's name is given, is susceptible of several interpretations.

(i) Munshī Hājī ‘Abdullāh Makkī transcribed this note in the port of Mocha from a MS. copy.

(ii) Hājī ‘Abdullāh Makkī wrote this note in the port of Mocha from the autograph of a Munshī.

(iii) This note was transcribed from the autograph of Munshī Hājī ‘Abdullāh Makkī in the port of Mocha.

The last rendering, most likely, assumes the active verb *namūd* to be a mistake for *shud*. The difficulty turns on finding the subject of *namūd*, assuming that the writer used that verb intentionally. Some stupid errors in transcription show that the copyist was no overcareful.

In general, the events recorded are known from other sources, apart, perhaps, from the incursions into the Yaman, the pirate activities of the Wahhābis off the South Arabian coast and their linking up with the

Wahhābi pirates from Oman.³ Aḥmad Zainī Dahlān,⁴ one of the principal oriental sources for the history of this period, supplies little information for the events of this year, though of course other authorities not consulted by us may contain this information.

In 1803 A.D. Ghālib, Sharīf of Mecca (ruled 1788-1813 A.D.) evacuated the city which was then entered by Sa'ūd the Wahhābi. The latter however was unable to take Jedda, and withdrew from the Ḥijāz on receiving news of the murder of his father 'Abd al-'Azīz.⁵

Of the Sharīfs mentioned in our text, both Ghālib and Surūr were sons of Musā'id, and 'Abdullāh was the son of Surūr. Muḏāyifī is doubtless 'Uthmān al-Muḏāyifī, brother-in-law to Ghālib, mentioned by Aḥmad Zainī Dahlān.⁶ The Pāsha of Damascus (or Syria) is probably Djazzār Pāsha [ob. 1219 H. (1804 A.D.)], and we think that his visits to the Ḥijāz must have been when escorting the Syrian Maḥmal at the time of the pilgrimage. The Sultān Aḥmad 'Abd al-Karīm of Aden is, of course, the 'Abdalī Sultān of Aden and Lahej.

This narrative, report, letter, or whatever it may be, is then an interesting incidental footnote to the history of Wahhābi activities in South Arabia in the opening years of the nineteenth century.

R. B. SERJEANT.
G. M. WICKENS.

NOTE

1. C. Rieu, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Pers. MSS.*, II 861 a., and in C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature* (London, 1936), II, p. 428.

2. For instance, the use of tenses, and *ba'd* governing with *edāfeh* instead of with *az*, etc.

3. For the Wahhābi pirates of Ras al-Khaimah, see S. B. Miles, 'The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf' (London, 1919), II, p. 444. Reference to the negotiations of the Wahhābi pirates with the Sultān of Lahej is made by Aḥmad Faḍl b. 'Alī Muḥsin al-'Abdalī, 'Ḥadiyat al-Zamān fī Akhbār Mulūk Laḥdjwa-'Adan' (Cairo, 1351 H.), p. 136, under the events of the year 1219 H.

4. 'Khulāṣat al-Kalām' (Cairo, 1888 A.D.).

5. For further information see the *Encycl. Islam*, Art. Mecca, p. 445 and (at present restricted) the Admiralty Handbook, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, BR 527 (1946), p. 266 f.

6. 'Khulāṣat al-Kalām,' op. cit., p. 263.

حقیقت وهابی در سرزمین مکه و مدینه و بندر جدّه و زمین یمن این است

- که در سنه ۱۲۱۸ هجری افواج وهابی طایف را محاصره نموده و شریف مکه شریف غالب مع افواج خود در طایف بود بعد وقوع جنگ در میان افواج وهابی و شریف غالب چند روز گذشت و قریب بود که افواج وهابی از محاصره طایف دست بردار شده بروند شریف عبدالله پسر شریف سرور یعنی برادر زاده شریف غالب از طایف از عموی خود جدا شده بوقت شب بمکه روان شد چون اینخبر بشریف غالب رسید ترسید که مبادا شریف عبدالله پسر شریف سرور مکه را بر حد خود کند و در مکه خود متولی شود و حکومت شهر مکه خود بگیرد شریف غالب طایف را گذاشت و خانه سکونت خود را آتش زد و بمکه آمد افواج وهابی بدریافت اینمعنی در شهر طایف در آمدند و شهر لوت کردند و اهل شهر را بقتل رسانیدند و اکثر خانها را آتش زدند و قبر عبدالله ابن عباس که عموزاده پیغمبر محمد صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم در طایف است آنرا شکسته اند و مضایفی که برادر زن شریف غالب بود و او را پیش از دو سال شریف غالب نزد وهابی فرستاده بود هرگاه نزد وهابی رسید وهابی شد و با وهابی مراقت کرد الحال که افواج وهابی داخل طایف شدند مضایفی سردار افواج وهابی شده داخل طایف شد و بعد از آن آنکه در سنه ۱۲۱۸ هجری سعود وهابی داخل مکه گردید مضایفی همراهش بود بعد سعود وهابی از مکه بجدّه آمد و محاصره جدّه نه روز کرد شریف غالب و باشه جدّه هر دو بالاتفاق با سعود وهابی از اندرون پناه شهر جنگ^۱ کردند هرگاه خبر مردن عبدالعزیز پدر سعود وهابی به سعود وهابی از درعیه رسید از محاصره جدّه دست بردار شده بدرعیه روان شد و در آخر سنه ۱۲۱۸ هجری افواج وهابی برای گرفتن مدینه منوره آمده بودند چون نتوانستند که بگیرند بیرون شهر مدینه بفاصله چهار میل که قبر امیر حمزه عموی پیغمبر است آنرا شکستند و هرگاه باشه شام بمدینه رسید افواج وهابی نزد باشه شام آمده طلب خزانه و ستور کنند زکاة را ازو طلبیدند باشه انها را چیزی نداد و چند مردم قریب هشتاد کس از آنها بقید زنجیر تا بمکه آورده بود و بعد مراجعت بمدینه انها را گذاشت و در سر زمین یمن خبت البقر جایست که بساحل نزدیک از مدینت حدیده وهابی شدند شخصی از مردم شحرکه سوداگری میکرد و چند کشتی دارد از شحر آمده در خبت البقر^۲ لنگر^۳ کرد وهابی شد و کشتی هاوی در دریا قطاع الطريق میکنند در سنه ۱۲۱۸ هجری مردم خبت البقر جمع شده بر سر شریف ابو عریش آمده او را گرفتند هر چند شریف ابو عریش طلب کمک از امام صنعا درخواست نمود امام صنعا هیچ کمک ا و نکرد چون مردم خبت البقر ابو عریش را گرفتند شریف ابو عریش هم وهابی شده با مردم خبت البقر متفق

شده مور^۴ وزیدیه. وجیزان ولجیه را گرفت باز ققیه صالح حدیده بالشکر زیدیه ساختگی آورد در زیدیه دخل آورد و قبل از آن شریف ابو عریش مجدیده آمده بود مدینه حدیده را گرفتن نتوانسته بلجیه مراجعت کرد و شریف ابو عریش در بندر قنفده که از بنادر شریف مکه است دخل آورد و عمله شریف مکه از قنفده بیرون کرد الحال بندر قنفده در دست شریف ابو عریش وهابی است و در ماه رمضان سنه ۱۲۱۸ هجری مطابق ماه جنوری سنه ۱۸۰۳ مسیحیه ۳ داو وهابی از راس الخیمه آمد یک بقله^۵ و دو داو را قریب مکه^۶ لوت کردند^۷ و باز بندر عدن آمده از سلطان عدن احمد ابن عبدالکریم درخواست کردند^۸ که آنها را جا بدهد تا در میت داوها بکنند و آنچه از مال لوت^۹ کردند و لوت خواهند کرد نصف آن سلطان عدن احمد ابن عبدالکریم خواهند داد سلطان عدن انرا قبول نه کرد آنها را از عدن بر آورده باز داوات مذکورین بر باب المندب آمده شش روز لنکر کردند و یک درگاه سمالی^{۱۰} راشکسته آنچه از دیگ مس داشت لوت کرده بردند و یک کشتی که از بربره می آمد و در آن روغن و گوسفند بود ان را لوت کردند و بعد شش روز از باب المندب به بندر لجیه روان شدند -

35 a

این نوشته از دستخط منشی حاجی عبدالله مکی در بندر مخا مرقوم نمود -

NOTE

1. We have made this emendation for the *شهر پناه جناب* of the text, as it provides an easier sense in the Persian, and accords with the known historical facts.

2. A *خبت* in S. W. Arabia is an uncultivated plain, or a stony waterless desert.

3. We propose *لنکر* for the evidently corrupt scrawl of the text. *لنکر* normally constructed with *انداختن* but this writer has used it with *کردند* below.

4. This town is marked on the maps and is also known to al-Hamdānī.

5. For this type of vessel, English "buggalow," Spanish, Portuguese "behel" etc., see Hobson-Jobson. For the history of the word "dhow" this work may also be consulted.

6. Also spelled *مکلا*.

7. This word, missing in the text, is supplied by us from below (see note 8) where it is written twice.

8. Written twice by the copyist's error.

9. Spelled *لوت* throughout.

10. Arabic *صومالی*, i.e., Somali.

EARLY INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE

(Continued from p. 170, July 1949 issue of 'Islamic Culture')

(IX) CONFLICT

IN SPITE of the reverence which the sultāns showed to the saints and their principle of non-interference in political matters, differences sometimes arose which disturbed the peaceful tenor of their lives. In almost all the recorded cases of conflict, excepting the affairs of Shāikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya and Saiyyidi Maula, where political considerations were involved, the real cause of conflict was the ruler's desire to control and direct the life at the Khanqāh. Often this was done at the instigation of the theologians (علمائے قادری)¹ who were hostile to the saints. These scholars, as the protectors of the Shari'at, attempted to undermine the influence which the saints wielded over the masses. The following instances will make the point clear.

(a) KHWĀJA MU'IN-UD-DIN CHISHTI SIJZI AND RAI PRITHVI RAJ²

Shāikh Mu'in-ud-din Chishti, the conspicuous saint of the Chishti Silsilah, on his arrival in India, settled at Ajmer. Besides being the seat of political power, Ajmer was one of the most venerated towns of India.³ Prithvi Raj and his courtiers did not like his stay there. But the saint, says Amir Khurd, gained such popularity there that it was difficult to interfere in his affairs. A Muslim, probably a Hindu convert, who had great faith in the Shāikh was in the service of Prithvi Raj. When the Rai found it difficult to harm the Shāikh, he began to tease and torture this servant. This man requested the Shāikh for help. The Shāikh

1. Throughout the middle ages one comes across the conflict between the *ahl-e-shari'at*, the orthodox theologians and the *ahl-e-tariqat*, the mystics.

2. Faulty transcription is responsible for a popular mistake about the word Sijzi. Khwāja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti was a native of Sijistan and hence he was called Sijzi. Shāh 'Abdul 'Aziz Dehlvi was the first scholar to point out in his excellent commentary on Shāh Wali-Ullah's قول الجمیل (Qaul-ul-Jamil) that the word Sanjari was wrong and that the correct word was Sijzi. Shāikh Ahsan-uz-Zaman in his commentary on Shāh Fakhr-ud-din Dehlvi's فخر الحسن (Fakhr-ul-Hassan) and Maulana Najm-ud-din of Shaikhawati (Jaipur) in his excellent biography of Khwāja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti have accepted Sijzi as the correct form and have rejected Sanjari as wrong.

3. For the religious importance of Ajmer see *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār* of Shāikh 'Abdul Haque Muḥaddith Dehlvi. For a recent English account—"Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive," by H. B. Sarda.

very humbly recommended this matter to the ruler. Prithvi Raj paid no heed to the recommendations of the Shaikh but instead uttered some insolent words against the saint. When this report was made to the Shaikh, he was very much annoyed and said in an ecstatic trance :

”پٿورا را زندہ گرفتيم و داديم بلشکر اسلام ،،

(I have captured Pithora alive and handed him over to the forces of Islam.)¹

By a strange coincidence the news of Muḥammad Ghōri's second invasion came soon after. The Raja now turned his attention from the saint to the invader. He did not realize at this stage that this lonely man whom he conveniently ignored at this time of danger to the state, was stronger than the forces of Muḥammad Ghōri and was to bring about a spiritual revolution in the history of this country. Prithvi Raj did not survive the battle but the saint during his life and after his death came to be universally respected.

(b) SHAIKH BAHĀ-UD-DIN ZAKARIYYA MULTĀNĪ AND SULTĀN NAṢĪR-UD-DIN QUBACHA

Shaikh Bahā-ud-din Zakariyya was one of the most eminent saints of the Suhrwardi Silsilah in the twelfth century. He lived at Multan, the capital of Sultān Qubacha.² The Shaikh, along with the Qāḍi of that place wrote a letter to Iltutmish severely criticising the irreligious activities of Qubacha.³ Qubacha, somehow intercepted the letter, and called the Qāḍi and the Shaikh to his presence. The Qāḍi had to pay the penalty for treason, but the Shaikh escaped the punishment. Hagio-logists attribute the Shaikh's escape from punishment to his spiritual powers. The fact is that Shaikh Bahā-ud-din Zakariyya Multānī wielded immense influence over the various tribes of Sind and Multan. Leaders of some of the most important tribes were among his devoted disciples. Qubacha, therefore, connived at the Shaikh's fault for fear of popular reactions and allowed him to go without punishment. The poor Qāḍi who had no backing was executed.

(c) SAIYYIDI MAULA AND SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DIN KHILJĪ

Jalāl-ud-din Khilji is spoken of by Barani as a weak and God-fearing ruler. He was averse to the shedding of human blood, but as Edward Thomas points out, “The single instance in which retributive justice was allowed to run its course was infelicitous.”⁴

1. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 47 (Persian).

Professor Mahmud Sherani's view that the story of Prithvi Raj's conflict with the Shaikh is a later fabrication is not correct. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, our earliest authority has mentioned it. Shaikh 'Abdul Haque Dehlvi, who carefully sifted his material accepts it as correct in his *Akḥbār-ul-Akḥyār*.

2. Sultān Naṣir-ud-din Qubacha was one of the slaves of Shihāb-ud-din and was appointed to the government of Multan. After the death of Shihāb-ud-din he contested with Yilduz and Qutb-ud-din Aibek for independence.

3. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwād*, p. 120.

4. *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 143.

Saiyyidi Maula was a "darwesh" who had left Jurjan to meet Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar whose fame had travelled far and wide and whose disciples were to be found in Islamic countries. After a short stay at Ajodhan he solicited Bābā Farīd's permission to leave for Delhi and settle there. Bābā Farīd who was well aware of the contaminating effects of royal associations in the capital warned him against the consequences of mixing with great men and nobles. Saiyyidi Maula reached Delhi during the reign of Balban and established a very magnificent Khanqāh. But it was, as Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid says, a time of peace and stern government and so Saiyyidi Maula could not become particularly prominent. Laxity of discipline in the days of Kaiqubad enabled him to come into the limelight. He entertained hundreds of faqirs and dervishes. The saint lived an extremely ascetic life and accepted nothing from anybody. 'His diet was frugal, his dress was simple, and his life was perfectly pure! No one knew wherefrom his wealth came. He spent daily a thousand maunds of flour, twenty maunds of vegetables twenty maunds of sugar, five hundred maunds of meat, not to mention other commodities, in feeding the poor.

According to Ferishta it was the mischief-monger Qādi Jalāl-ud-din Kāshāni, who first drew Saiyyidi Maula into the whirlpool of politics. Some disaffected nobles started a conspiracy for the dethronement of Jalāl-ud-din and the establishment of a theocratic republic. The conspiracy was unearthed and the Sultān summoned Saiyyidi Maula with his followers to his presence. All the conspirators refused to confess their guilt. The Sultān, then, ordered them to pass through the ordeal of fire to prove their innocence. The 'Ulama took objection to it and said that trial by ordeal was not permitted by Shar'. The Sultān submitted to this objection and entered into a discussion with Saiyyidi Maula. Unable to bring out a confession, the Sultān called out to a body of Haidari Qalandars who were present there: "Dervishes! See what crime this man has contemplated against me and what rebellion he has planned. Do me justice and seek my revenge." One of the Qalandars, Sanjar by name, wounded Saiyyidi Maula with a razor. Arkali Khān, who was also present, motioned to an elephant driver and the latter drove his elephant over Saiyyidi Maula. Barani who was present in Delhi at this time writes: -

''و من کہ مولف ام یاد دارم کہ روز قتل سیدی مولا بادلے سیاہ برخاست، کہ عالم تاریک شد و بعد قتل سیدی مولا ملک جلالی در فتور گرفت کہ بزرگان کفته اند درویش کشتن شوم باشد و هیچ بادشاہ را نیکو نیامده است، ہم دران نزدیکی کہ مولا کشته شد امساک باران شد و در دہلی قحط افتاد و غلہ بہ یک جیتل سیرے رسید، و در میان سوالک قطرہ باران نہ چکید، ہندوان آن زمین بازن و بچہ در دہلی می آمدند و بستگان وسی یکجامی شدند و در گرسنگی خود را در آب جمن می انداختند و غرق می شدند،''

(I, the author, well remember that on the day of Saiyyidi Maula's execution, a black storm arose which made the world dark. Troubles afterwards arose in the kingdom of Jalal, as elders have said : Killing of saints is inauspicious and has not augured well for any king. Soon after the murder of Maula, there was a drought and famine stalked in Delhi. The price of corn rose up to a jital per seer. There was no rainfall in Siwalik. The Hindus¹ of that place came to Delhi with women and children and many people drowned themselves due to hunger in Jumna.)²

There calamities were ascribed by the piety of the age to the miracles of the saints. The more sober Badaoni thus comments on the incident : "Although no inference can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be only coincidences still I have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents." Shaikh 'Abdul Haque says that on witnessing this horrible succession of calamities the Sultān also came to believe in the sainthood and innocence of Saiyyidi Maula.³

Of 'Alā-ud-din Khilji it is said that he suspected Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya of nursing political ambitions when he found every member of the court and the camp visiting the Shaikh. The Sultān, in order to test the saint, wrote a letter to him offering to be guided by his directions in all matters. The Shaikh did not even care to open this letter which was delivered to him by Khidr Khān. "We dervishes have nothing to do with the affairs of the state," he replied, "I have settled in a corner away from the men of the city and spend my time in praying for the Sultān and other Musalmans. If the Sultān does not like this, let him tell me so. I will go and live elsewhere. God's earth is wide enough."⁴ This reply convinced and satisfied the Sultān that the Shaikh had no political designs. The Sultān's political sagacity averted a great crisis. That suspicion once set aside, the Khilji emperor showed great respect and regard for Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya.

'Alā-ud-din is spoken of as a godless king by Barani and as one who had no respect for the learned and the pious. To his credit it must be said that he handled the theologians and the mystics with great tact, with the result that there was no conflict during his time between the Sultān and the clerical party. He did not interfere with them and they did not meddle with matters of state policy.

1. By the word Hindus, Barani means, the landed proprietors and not the Hindus in general. Vide Moreland's *Agrarian System of Muslim India*, Part XII, p. 225-n.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 212.

For a detailed account of the Saiyyidi Maula affair, vide Professor Shaikh 'Abdur Rashid's excellent monograph on Jalāl-ud-din Khilji pp. 239-41.

Vide also, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, (p. 67), *Ferishta*, (p. 140), *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, (MS.) Badaoni (Ranking pp. 233-35), *Futūh-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 209.

3. *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*.

4. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 120 (Lahore).

(d) SHAIKH NIZĀM-UD-DIN 'AULIYA AND
SULTĀN MUBĀRAK KHILJI

Mubārak Khilji, without political acumen and sagacity, vain and stupid, tried to assume a position which his father had not taken up. He assumed the title of Khalifa for himself—something which 'Alā-ud-din Khilji in spite of his greatness and glory did not attempt.¹ He picked up a quarrel with the great Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya, just to satisfy his vanity.

What caused estrangement between the two was a foolish suspicion on the part of the Sultān. Khidr Khān, the heir-apparent, was a disciple of Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya, and so the Sultān thought that the Shaikh would support his succession. He was utterly mistaken in this belief. The Shaikh was not the man to dabble in politics. The Sultān began to use uncharitable language about the Shaikh and ordered his maliks not to visit his khānqāh. He is reported to have declared that he would give a reward of thousand tankas to one who would bring the Shaikh's head.²

Bent upon humiliating the Shaikh, the Sultān sent a man to Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya with a message : “ Shaikh Rukn-ud-din comes to see me all the way from Multan. How is it that you, living in Delhi don't come to the court ?” The Shaikh apologized that it was not the practice of his elder saints and therefore he was unable to attend the court.³ The Sultān's repeated efforts to meddle in the Shaikh's peaceful life at last annoyed him and he sent his disciple Amir Hassan Sijzi, the famous compiler of *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, to the Sultān's pir, Shaikh Dīā-ud-din Rūmi with the message :

” سلطان را از رنجانیدن درویشان باز باید داشت که خیریت دارین اودرکم

آزاری این قوم است .”

(You should forbid the Sultān against annoying the der-vishes, for his safety in both the worlds depends on his not annoying these people.)⁴

But as Shaikh Rūmi was ill, the message was not delivered. A few days later, Shaikh Rūmi expired, and the Sultān and the Shaikh came face to face at the *Siyyum* of Shaikh Dīā-ud-din. Mubārak Khilji assumed an attitude of arrogance and did not even acknowledge his greetings.

1. Amir Khusrāu speaks of Mubārak Khilji as Khalifa in his *mathnavis*.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, Barani, p. 396 (Sir Syed Edition).

Siyyar-ul-'Arifin (MS.), pp. 78.

Ferishtā, (Chapter 14), pp. 37-38.

3. *Siyyar-ul-'Arifin* (MS.), pp. 78.

For a short account of Shaikh Dīā-ud-din Rūmi's life vide *Akhhbār-ul-Akhyār* by Shaikh 'Abdul Haque, p. 72.

4. The accounts of this meeting are slightly different. Barani says that the Sultān did not return the Shaikh's compliments سلام شیخ جواب نداد و عدم التفاتے ہو (p. 396). *Ferishtā* and others say that the Shaikh himself refrained from greeting the Sultān and explained his action by saying “as he is reciting the Qur'ān, there is no need of offering compliments to him.” (p. 38).

What annoyed the Sultān most was the Shāikh's immense popularity with the public.¹ Vainglorious as he was, he resorted to many mean and ignoble tactics to pull Shāikh down in public estimation. He called Shāikh Rukn-ud-din Multāni from Multan in order to turn away the public eye from Shāikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya.² But as Shāikh Rukn-ud-din was an old friend of Shāikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya and considered him to be 'the best man of Delhi,' the Sultān's scheme to use him for that purpose failed.³ The Sultān, then set up one Shāikhzāda Jam, an old and inveterate enemy of Shāikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya.⁴

The Sultān built a mosque called Masjid-i-miri, and invited the leading men of the capital to be present at the first Juma' prayers in the mosque. The Shāikh was also invited but he refused to go. "The mosque nearest my house," he told the Sultān's messenger, "has greater claims upon me."⁵ This reply enraged the Sultān. The Shāikh on his part was also determined not to budge an inch from his position.

'On the first day of the moon when 'ulama, mashā'ikh and nobles assembled in the court to congratulate the Sultān, Shāikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya did not go himself but he sent his servant Iqbāl as his representative.⁶ The Sultān was annoyed. It was too great an insult for him to put up with. He threatened to punish the Shāikh if he did not appear at the palace next month. When this news reached the people there was considerable distress among them. The Shāikh was the idol of the Delhi public. The conflict, had it ensued, would have been one of the most interesting in medieval India. Two sovereigns—one of the temporal and the other of the spiritual world—were out to contest their supremacy in their respective spheres. When the Shāikh came to know of the Sultān's evil intentions, he went to his mother's grave, wept and said: "If the Sultān's life does not end by the first moon I won't come to you again."⁷ Thoughtful people were in suspense and anxiety. They smacked great disaster. When the day approached, men who had access to the Shāikh requested him to proceed to the court as the Sultān was young and inexperienced; and expediency demanded that his order should be complied with. The Shāikh kept quiet. When they again told him he satisfied them by saying: "Last night I saw in my dream a bull rushing towards

1. Shāikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya was the cynosure of public eyes. Vide Barani, pp. 343-344. About the magnetic effect of his personality, Shāh 'Abdul 'Aziz, the famous scholar of Delhi, once remarked

"و... له همچو نظام الدین اولیا سلطان المشائخ موجود بود له می گویند چون آدم

داخل غیاث پور می شد حالش دگرگون می شد ،،

Mal'fuzāt-i-Shāh 'Abdul 'Aziz, (Meerut), p. 63. (and men like Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya Sultān-ul-Mashā'ikh were present there. They say that the moment a man entered Ghīyāthpūr his condition underwent a complete change).

2. Barani's *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 396.

Ā'in-i-Akbari, p. 209. (Sir Syed Edition).

Akhhār-ul-Akhyār, p. 64.

3. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 121. (Lahore).

4. Barani, p. 396.

5. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 133 (Lahore).

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

me. I caught hold of the bull's horns and turned it away."¹ The disciples were for the moment satisfied that no harm would come to the Shaikh. Iqbāl twice sought order to bring the *palki* but the Shaikh indifferently said; "Do something else." On the night of the new moon Mubārak Shāh was assassinated by the Parwars. "The murder of the Sultan," puts Professor Mohammad Habib in his excellent style, "the pious Amir Khurd would have us believe was due to the prayers of the Shaikh, not to the crime of the Parwar. The decision of such problems is fortunately beyond the province of the historian."²

(c) SHAIKH NIZĀM-UD-DIN 'AULIYA AND SULTĀN GHIYĀTH-UD-DIN TUGHLAQ

The relations between Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya and Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-din Tughlaq are said to have been far from cordial. The following facts are given as the causes of estrangement.

(1) On Mubārak Khilji's assassination, Khusrau Khān distributed money among the Shaikhs and the 'ulama in order to win them over to his side. He sent a large sum of money to Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya also. Some sa'nts refused the gift and others accepted the money but kept it in trust for the ruler who would supplant the usurper. Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya accepted the gift³ and, as was the practice of his *khānqāh*, disbursed the money among the needy and the poor. When Ghiyāth-ud-din ascended the throne of Delhi, he asked all the shaikhs and 'ulama to refund the money that the usurper had lavishly distributed. Many recipients sent back the money which they had kept as trust. When Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya was approached he told the king's messengers that the money belonged to the *bait-ul-mal* and he had therefore distributed it among the people. This unhappy incident at the very outset of his reign led to estrangement between them.

(2) The Shaikh, in conformity with the practice of the earlier saints of his order, held audition parties. The Externalist scholars objected to it. Shaikhzāda Hissām-ud-din Farjam and Qādi Jalāl-ud-din Soranji, Na'ib Hakim-i-Mumalak, somehow made the Sultān take objection to it. The Sultān called an assembly of the 'ulama. The Shaikh went to the *darbar*⁴ and won his point.⁵ This incident embittered the Sultān.

1. *Siyar-ul-'Arifin* (MS.), p. 80. *Ferishta* p. 39, (Chapter 14).

2. Amir Khusrau of Delhi, by Professor Mohd. Habib.

3. Perhaps it was the acceptance of this money by the Shaikh which led Dr. R. P. Tripathi to observe: "There is also reason to believe that he (Khusrau) had the moral support of Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya who exercised considerable influence with the people." (Some Aspects of Muslim Administration) But this is not correct. None of the Sultāns ever enjoyed the support or suffered the displeasure of the Shaikh. He was above politics and did not mix with kings. Besides, it is difficult to believe that the Shaikh could have lent his support if at all - to a ruler in whose regime Islam passed through a terrible ordeal and who, according to Barani, desecrated the Qur'ān and dishonoured the mosques.

4. This was the first and the last occasion that the great Shaikh attended the Delhi court. It should be remembered that he was summoned to the court to explain a matter which involved questions of Islamic *Sharī'at*. What he attended was not a Sultān's court, but the court of *Sharī'at*. In *Chahli Roza* also Ahmad Ayaz says that the Shaikh himself called that meeting a court of *Shar'*.

5. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, pp. 483-488 (Lahore).

(3) When the Sultān was coming back from the Bengal expedition he sent an order to the Shaikh to quit Delhi before he reached the capital. On receiving this imperial order, the Shaikh is reported to have remarked¹ 'Delhi is still far off' (هنوز دلی دور است). The Sultān was given an ovation at Afghanpur where the newly-built pavilion fell down, killing the Sultān.²

It is on the basis of these facts that some historians have said that the relations between the Shaikh and the Sultān were highly inimical. Professor Mohammad Habib says that the story appears a "later day fabrication. Neither Amir Khurd nor Barani says anything concerning the unpleasantness between the two old men, who were so eminently virtuous in their different spheres of life."² Dr. M. I. Bohrah disagrees with Professor Habib. He says that from the account of Ibn Battūṭa and others it appears that there was sufficient reason for the existence of this estrangement.³ Let us now closely examine the three causes which are said to have alienated the Sultān from the Shaikh.

The Shaikh's acceptance of Khusrau Khān's offer and his subsequent inability to return the money to Ghiyāth-ud-din could hardly have been the cause of bitterness as some writers have attempted to make us believe. The Sultān knew the Shaikh who was the idol of the Delhi public, for many decades and had been respected and revered, by the preceding Sultāns. Ghiyāth-ud-din was an old servant of the state and he could hardly have been blind to the practice of the Shaikh. Whatever came to his khānqāh was immediately and instantly distributed among the poor and the needy. Hence his failure to reimburse the money cannot be a reason for displeasure, though the possibility of the very acceptance of the gift annoying the Sultān cannot be ruled out.

The Sama' episode, as narrated by Amir Khurd, shows no ostensible hostility of feelings between the Sultān and the saint. But the entire atmosphere in which the proceedings were conducted and the manner in which the Externalist scholars behaved with the great Shaikh in the royal court leaves upon one the impression that the Sultān had not the same respect for the saint which he ought to have ordinarily shown to him. The Shaikh himself came back disgusted from the court.

So far as the last incident is concerned, many controversies centre round it. Some writers have remarked that the Shaikh had expired before the Afghanpur tragedy took place. But this is not correct. Ghiyāth-ud-din Tughlaq died some time in the month of Rabi'-ul-awwal, 725 A.H.,⁴ while Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya died in Rabi'-uth-thāni, 725 A.H.⁵

1. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 97.

2. *Amir Khusrāu of Delhi* by Prof. Mohd. Habib.

3. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (1939), p. 660, Calcutta Session.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 96, (Calcutta).

5. Some reckless and uncritical European writers, like Sleeman and Cooper, have cast aspersions on the character of the Shaikh and have expressed the view that he was involved in a conspiracy against the Sultān with the prince. This is absurd. No one who has the slightest knowledge of the Shaikh's character can entertain such suspicions. Mzik, Bohrah and others have exposed the absurdity and baselessness of this charge.

Apart from all this, if we rely upon a newly-discovered book "*Chahl Roza*"¹ of Aḥmad Ayāz, the story of strained relations becomes an incontrovertible fact. Keeping in view Aḥmad Ayāz's narrative, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statements and the views expressed by subsequent writers, one is but convinced that no love was lost between the Shaikh and the Sultān.

Aḥmad Ayāz says that he was present at the time when the servants of Khusrau Khan brought a gift of 5 lac tankas before the great Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya. "Don't," said the Shaikh to the men of his khān-qāh, "enter this sum into the *langar* accounts. Take it and distribute it among the needy and the poor. No one of my silsilah is to take a single tanka out of it."² The gift was accordingly distributed. Soon afterwards Aḥmad Ayāz left for Deccan as he was not safe in the capital. The parvenu had started a terrible regime of anti-Islamic activities and he, as a neophyte, was bound to fall a victim to the Parwari's Hinduizing activities. He sought Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya's permission and then left for the Deccan with his family. When he received news about the accession of Ghiyāth-ud-din Tughlaq he returned to Delhi. After some time was held the famous Sama' discussion which is very graphically described by Aḥmad Ayāz.³

From Aḥmad Ayāz's narrative it appears that Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-din Tughlaq had, under the influence of the Externalist scholars, objected to certain practices of the Shaikh and this had led to an estrangement between them. This estrangement was entirely different from that hostility which Mubārak Khilji had shown to the great Shaikh. Mubārak's enmity was born of malice and spite. Ghāzi Malik's unfavourable attitude was the outcome of his religious views. Ghiyāth-ud-din was a man of strongly orthodox views, and as such he could not reconcile himself with some of the practices of the Shaikh. The Shaikh himself had no personal grudge against the Sultān. When the news of the Sultān's sudden death was conveyed to Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya by his personal attendant Mubashshir, he told the audience: "God's will overrides all human intentions. The king was a very good man. He had respect for Sharī'at in his heart and was always solicitous about

1. Recently Khwāja Hassan Nizāmi of Delhi has published a book '*Nizāmi Bansari*' in which he has given a long translation from *Chahl Roza*. This book is said to have been written by the famous minister of Moḥammad bin Tughlaq, Aḥmad Ayāz. Written in the form of a diary, it gives very interesting information about Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya and throws valuable light on the social, political and religious conditions prevailing in pre-Mughal India. Khwāja Sahib was able to secure a copy of this work from the Bharatpur State Library. The authenticity of this document has not been established and much reliance cannot be placed upon it. I have accepted its statements only so far as they are corroborated by other accounts.

2. *Nizāmi Bansari*, p. 246.

3. Aḥmad Ayāz says that before the Sama' controversy, the Sultān sent some of his men incognito to the Shaikh's khānqāh and they objected to the practice of *zamin-bose* and created much disturbance in the khānqāh, (pp. 276-78).

For a complete picture of the Sama' episode, vide *Siyar-ul-'Auliya* and *Chahl Roza*. For the legal aspect of the problem, vide Maulana Fakhr-ud-din Zarradi's excellent treatise on *أصول السماع*. These three reveal every aspect of the problem.

the welfare of his people." At this Mubashshir said, "Shaikhzāda Farjam had gained his favour and he slandered the saints before the king." The Shaikh at once perplexed him by his prompt admonition: "You are also indulging in backbiting. How do you come to know that Shaikhzāda indulged in slanders?"*

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI.

(To be continued)

* *Chahl Roza* p. 324. *Chahl Roza* throws valuable light on many problems relating to Ghiyāth-ud-din and Moḥammad bin Tughlaq. It becomes clear from this work that the relations between Ghiyāth-ud-din and Prince Jauna were far from cordial. Isami and Ibn-i-Baṭṭūṭa's statements are to a very great extent corroborated by Ahmad Ayāz.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

IQBĀL: THE POET AND HIS MESSAGE; by Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha; published by Ram Narain Lal, Publisher and Bookseller, Allahabad; pp. 512; price Rs. 8.

A BOOK which is baffling in many respects. 470 pages have been written on Iqbal by a critic who is good enough to confess that he is no scholar of Persian. This is surely modest as how can even a page be written in criticism of the works of Iqbal without something more than a mere working knowledge of Persian. On the other hand, some of the criticisms offered lead one to think that the full import of Iqbal's verse, specially his Persian verse, has been missed. Besides, criticism presumes a bond of understanding between the critic and the subject, and it is lacking in this work. In some parts it almost seems that the accusation of propaganda levelled against the poet can also be levelled against the critic. There is obvious difference of ideology, but surely even a Turk can appreciate Byron. In any case the book is interesting, even if disappointing, and none need quarrel with the author for his opinion.

A. Y. J.

PERSIAN PSALMS; English Translation of Iqbal's *Zabūr-i-'Ajam*; by Arthur J. Arberry; published by Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore (Pakistan); Octavo, pp. xii + 126; price Rs. 7-8-0.

THE mantle of Persian scholarship left by Browne and Nicholson has fallen on the shoulders of

Arberry, who is holding it in a worthy manner. His erudition and special insight into the oriental mind have enabled him to interpret the thought of the East with all its depth and intricacies to the English-knowing people of the world, few of whom are familiar with the Persian language. A few years back he translated Iqbal's *Lāla-i-Tūr*, and expounded the special philosophy of Iqbal regarding the betterment of humanity in general, and the people of the East in particular, who, steeped in ignorance, and through political and economic bondage, have fallen to the lowest level of existence. Recently Arberry also translated a portion of the *Gulistān-i-Sa'di*, which was welcomed most warmly by all foreign students of Persian literature, because in the work he has not only given the most faithful rendering of the text into the English language, but also removed many interpolations and inaccuracies which had crept into the book by passage of time. The chief feature of Arberry's translation whether of Persian prose or poetry, is that he remains faithful to the text, so far as its wording is concerned. This quality of his work is good for such students as are beginners, but advanced students look for a rendering which reveals the thought underlying the wording of the text. Arberry's translations are therefore most successful in the case of unembellished anecdotes, such as those of Sa'di's *Gulistān*, or simple forms of Persian poetry, like the *rubā'iyāt*, but in the translation of the *ghazal*, which is the most seductive form of Persian poetry, his work appears to be less successful, because his translations seldom indicate the charm of

در میان سینه حرفے داشتم گم کرده ام
گرچه پیرم پیش ملاے دبستانم برید
ساز خاموشم نواے دیکرے دادم هنوز
آنکه بازم پرده گرداند پئے، آتم برید

TRANSLATION

"I am a blossom of the plain,
Carry me back from the avenue
To mountain and wilderness again
Where air's to breathe, and the vast
to view."

"Far from self I have gone astray,
Learnt me the foxy and furtive wont:
Carry me, helpers of the way,
Back to the reeds, my ancient haunt."

"Once I had a word in my heart;
Now it has vanished from my breast;
Though I am old, let me depart
Back to the school that taught me
best."

"I am a hushed and silent lute;
Now in my head is a new, sweet air;
O let my strings be no longer mute,
Take me to him who will repair."

Part II, Ode 25, verses 1-4.

TEXT

تو اے شاہین نشین در چمن کردی از آن ترسم
ہو اے اویال تو دھد پرواز کوتاہ
ز جوئے کہکشان بگزر، ز نیل آسمان بگزر
ز منزل دل بمیرد گرچہ باشد منزل ماہ
پس از من شعر من خوانند و دریا بند و میگویند
جہانے را دگرگون کرد یک مرد خود آگاہ

TRANSLATION

"Falcon thou art, and hast made
Thy nest in the grassy glade,
And its air, I am fearful, might
Foreshorten thy pinions' flight,"

"From the stream of the stars arise
And cross the Nile of the skies;
For the heart must die right soon
If it lodge, though it be in the moon."

"When I am dead, this my lay,
Men will recite, and say:
One man who was self-aware
Transformed a world everywhere."

Part II, Ode 31, verses 2, 4 and 7.

The book is nicely printed and neatly bound and we congratulate Muhammad Ashraf on its excellent get-up.

G. Y.

MATLA'-I-SA'DAIN WA MAJMA'-
-I-BAHRAIN; by Kamālu'd-Dīn
'Abdu'r-Razzāq Samarqandī; edited
by Muhammad Shafi' Ex-Principal,
Oriental College, Lahore. Persian
Text; pp. xix 938; price Rs. 10.

MUHAMMAD SHAFI' is one of the most distinguished Indian pupils of the late Prof. Browne of Cambridge, and the book was brought to the notice of Muhammad Shafi' by his eminent teacher when the former had gone to Cambridge for post-graduate studies. Muhammad Shafi' worked on the book during his stay on England, and collected several MSS. of it available in the libraries there. Since his return from England the book has been under his study for nearly 30 years, and the first volume of it was published some nine years ago, and the second is issued now. The third volume which contains Part 4 of the book is still being edited and will be published in due course. Muhammad Shafi' has read much contemporary literature, primarily, to present the text of the book as accurately as possible, and secondarily, to add notes where the events narrated in the book required confirmation or elucidation. Muhammad Shafi''s edition exhibits erudition combined with painstaking research, but the printing is poor and the editor rightly regrets in his preface to the book for the indifferent style of writing, and the large number of mistakes which have crept in the book. The majority of these mistakes are however amended in "the list of corrections" appended to the book, but a considerable number of them still exist and they will come to

the notice of the reader when he goes through the text. For example on p. 790 اورارات should have been ادارارات meaning 'stipends,' 'scholarships.' Similarly, ودنايك Persianised form of Ped Nāyak (Prime Minister), is correctly written on p. 801, but later on the same page, as well as on the following pages وار has been omitted and only دنايك printed which is faulty.

To economise space the editor has used a larger number of signs and abbreviations and given a list of them in vol. I. This list should have been reproduced in vol. II as well, because it is not convenient to the reader to refer to vol. I every time he has forgotten a sign to ascertain the letter or term which it represents. Muḥammad Shafi' further, has been very careful in giving alternate readings, but in cases where a word was clearly misspelt in a MS., that incorrect spelling should not have been given as alternate reading in the footnotes. For instance on p. 1143 the word قداه is correctly written, but in footnote 3 on the same page قذاه is given as another reading which is clearly a mistake. Similarly تناصرى for Tennaserim which is adopted by the Portuguese traveller Nuniz also, was the correct Persianised form of the name, and required no explanation. Muḥammad Shafi' on p. 1478, has given a special note stating that دناصرى has been spelt تناصرى in *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* (Arabic text, p. 43), which was uncalled for. On p. 1141, the reading ادات in the phrase واهل نله الات وادات حصاردارى is defective. Muḥammad Shafi' has given the correct reading of the word ادارات in the footnote based on the texts of MSS. آباب but he has not adopted the correct plural form of the word in the main text given by him. Some mistakes of رسم الخط, evidently committed by the scribe, have been overlooked by Muḥammad Shafi', for instance اولى is written اولے in the printed text. But all these blemishes are of a minor

character and well rounded off by the editor's vast scholarship as shown in the glossary and explanatory notes given at the end of the volume. We congratulate Muḥammad Shafi' on the achievement of a difficult task and hope that the few shortcomings, such as pointed out above, will be removed when a second edition of the volume is published. It is also hoped that the second edition will be printed in types and not lithographed as in the present case.

Now a few words about the book and its author, Kamālu'd-Dīn who most successfully played the role of an ambassador in which capacity he was sent to the court of Devaraya II of Vijayanagar in 1442-43 A.C. But being a historian of wide vision and talent he has presented in this book not only a true picture of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, but a detailed and faithful history of Khurasan, Fars, and Iraq narrating political events, economic conditions and religious and literary movements of these countries during his time. I venture to give below an extract from the volume to show the literary style of the author, his extensive knowledge of geography and wide outlook on things in general.

و پنجم شوال از درمان روانه شد ***
و سازه هرموز شده منتصف ماه بساحل
عمان و بندر هرموز رسید ، والی هرموز ملک
نضر الدین توران شاه لشتی روانه فرمود ***
و ثاق و مایحتاج مقرر شده ملاقات پادشاه میسر
شد ، و این هرموز که آن را جبرون گویند
در میان دریا بندریست که ع

در روی زمین بدل ندارد

نبار اقامت سبعة از مصرو شام و روم و آذر
بایجان و عراق عرب و عجم و مالک فارس و خراسان
و ماورا'النهر و ترکستان و مملکت دشت قباچاق
و نواحی قلماق و تمام بلاد شرق و چین و ماچین و

خان بابین روئے توجہ بان بندر دارند، و مردم دریا بار از حدود چین و جاوہ و بنگالہ و سیلان و شہر ہائے زیر باد تناصری و سقوطرہ و نہر نو و جزایر دیوہ علی تا دیار بلیار و حبش و زنگبار و بندرہائے بیجانگر و کلبرگہ و گجرات و کنبات و سواحل بر عرب تا عدن و جدہ و ینبوع نفایس و ظرایف کہ ماہ و آفتاب و فیض سحاب آن را آب و تاب دادہ و بر روئے دریا نوان آورد بان بند، آرند، و مسافران عالم از ہر جا آیند، و ہر چہ آرند در برابر ہر چہ خواہند لے زیادت جسنہ جوے در آن شہر یابند، ہم تقد دہند و ہم معاوضہ کنند، و دیوانیان از ہمہ چیز غیر زر و نقرہ عشرستانند، و اصحاب ادیان مختلفہ بل کفار در آن شہر بسیارند، و بیرون از عدل با هیچ آفریدہ معاملہ ندارند، و باین سبب آن بلدہ را دارالامان گویند، و مردم آن بلدہ را مملق عراقیان و تعمق ہندیان باشد۔
(صفحات ۶۹ - ۷۷)

The volume may be had of Mr. Muḥammad Rafī, 24, Mission Road, Lahore.

G. Y.

THE REFORMS AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF SIR SAYYID AHMAD KHAN; by J. M. S. Baljon, Jr., D. D.; pp. xii, 101; J. Brill, Leiden; 1949.

THE present generation of Indians has almost ceased to have a correct perspective of what Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, founder of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, did for the welfare, progress and the revival of catholicity among the Musulmans of India. In fact only those who have been to Aligarh and seen the great work of the Reformer enshrined there, and have stood at the awe-inspiring yet simple mausoleum of the Founder surrounded by the graves of his closest associates, will realise the importance of the

man who was definitely one of the most outstanding figures of the nineteenth century Islam in India. Dr. Baljon has done good service to the cause of learning by publishing this very readable book on one whom the Muslims affectionately called simply "Sir Sayyid."

The book is really a thesis presented to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Leiden and it is only natural that "particular notice has been paid to the religious side" of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, but as "the totalitarian character of Islam" did not allow a disconnection of social and religious questions from the domain of religion, the author had to scan the social and educational ideas of the Reformer as well. It is creditable that though the author is avowedly a specialist of the Christian religion and he had to deal with the writings of one who was, at best, tolerant towards Christianity, he has made an objective study of some of Sir Sayyid's writings and evaluated him in as impartial a light as was possible under the circumstances. Although the book is a short work covering barely 101 pages, it is the conspectus of the Reformer's social and educational work, his ideas as to what Islam originally was, its re-interpretation to the world at large and his views about the Christian doctrine from the Islamic point of view. It is only when Dr. Baljon deals with this last aspect of Sir Sayyid's views that, perhaps involuntarily, he becomes subjective in his treatment and has recourse to such platitudes as "the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount are beyond his (Sir Sayyid's) comprehension" or that he believed in the "irrational prohibitions" like that of "wine-drinking and the consumption of pork." But such instances need not deter us from our view that the author has dealt fairly with many of the published works of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, whether in the form of letters, articles or books, and has, besides, made use of most of what has been

written about him.¹ This has led him to believe in the greatness of the man, and although he says in one place that "his ideas are more appreciable from the boldness demonstrable in them than for ripeness," he confesses towards the end of the book that "the everlasting and the greatest benefit of Ahmad Khan for his country is that he bestowed the Muslim faith in himself. and the main significance of the Aligarh College was that it was a palpable expression of self-help." He goes on to say that "in the quarters of the present day defenders of Islam his teachings echo unmistakably." We would here add that most of his teachings which were an anathema to a certain section of his co-religionists in his life-time, have been absorbed in the beliefs of the Muslims of the present day while the source is largely forgotten the teachings themselves have become their part and parcel.

The author has no doubt digested practically all that Sir Sayyid has written on the subjects concerned, but in certain matters he has visibly erred. For instance, he says that "the conception of Islam being as old as the creation is based on the following theory of his," and then he delineates the doctrine of Islam being as old as Adam--the very creation of man. Now obviously it was not Sir Sayyid's "theory" at all, but it is precisely what the accepted cardinal principle of the Muslim religion is, that Islam as preached by the Arabian Messenger of God was only a re-nunciation of the faith which had existed from time immemorial. Again, while reviewing Sir Sayyid's educational work the author is surprised that Sanskrit should have formed a part of the curriculum of the first madrasah he founded soon after the Mutiny. But he should be fully appraised of the fact that Sir Sayyid began his public life as

an ardent patriot, as his great treatise (perhaps the first work on post-Mutiny politics by an Indian), the *Risālah Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind*, amply proves, and when he came to the end of his life he had already founded the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, with its portals always open to non-Muslims, on a firm footing. His boon-companion who was like his own brother, was a Hindu, Raja Jaikishan Das (not 'Raj Shankar Das' nor 'Mr. Raj' as in the book under review). As our author rightly says, "he never intended to arouse antagonistic feelings between the two groups, and towards the end of his life he used to declare that friendship between the Hindus and the Muslims was a matter of course." The author very aptly relates how when the students of the college once brought a cow for sacrifice Sir Sayyid interfered immediately and the cow was sent back to the owner.

There is an obvious lacuna in the description of the educational policy of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, and that is his great scheme for the foundation of an Urdu University at Aligarh, an idea which was given a concrete and comprehensive shape by his worthy son Sayyid Mahmūd who rose to be a judge of the High Court at Allahabad. This scheme is detailed in the *Tahdhīb ul Akhlāq*, vol. V (1291 H./1874 C.), pp. 90-102.² It is worthy of note that the scheme envisages an Academic Council or Senate for 'non-religious education' entitled *مدبران تعلیم السہ وعلوم دنیویہ* in which "Christians, Jews and Pandits" would have been admitted as members on an absolutely equal footing with the Muslims. There is a remarkable sentence towards the end of the scheme which breathes Sir Sayyid's catholicity and non-communalism, and which might be quoted here with advantage in original:

1. There is an excellent bibliography of Sir Sayyid's writings and books dealing with his life and work appended to the volume.

2. The scheme is described and critically examined by the reviewer's father, the late Haji Mohammad Musa Khan Sherwani in his booklet, *Muslim University kē bhūlē huē usāl*.

نہایت بخل اور بد اخلاقی ہوگی اگر ہم غیر مذہب کے لوگوں کی تعلیم کے لئے مدرسے میں کوئی راہ نہ رکھیں اور اس لئے ایسی تدبیر بھی اختیار نہ کی گئی ہے جس سے غیر مذہب کے لوگ بھی مدرسۃ العلوم سے مناسب فائدہ اٹھا سکیں۔

Sir Sayyid's primary thesis was, as the author rightly says, a re-interpretation of the Islamic doctrines to the world at large from a modernist point of view. He also impressed on his hearers and the readers of his works that the basis of Islam was essentially that of nature according to the *dinul-Fitrat* concept of the Qur'ān. As he went on to present religion in this garb, which was a novelty in the obscurantist atmosphere of those days, he was much misunderstood not only by his opponents but also by his friends and our author gives a good account of the intense opposition which he had to withstand. It was his "qualities of being an organiser as well as a statesman, preacher as well as a practitioner, hārdworker himself as well as a stimulator of others" which along with his "remarkable quickness of wit" helped him to tide over all difficulties and made him one of the most outstanding Musulmans of the nineteenth century.

There are extraordinarily few mis-statements in the book, which is remarkable as the writer is a European theologian and the material he has to fall back upon is in Urdu. One such *faux pas* is when he makes Mukhtār-ul-Mulk Salār Jang I "the future Nizam of Hyderabad" and even calls him "His Highness." There are, again some delightful deviations from the current English metaphor, but they as well as the whole trend of this very readable book only demonstrate the sincerity of our author.

The work, though small in size, is a valuable addition to the literature on Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and is heartily commended to those who wish to have some knowledge of the inner working

of the mind of the founder of what is called the Aligarh Movement.

H. K. S.

BAZM-I TAIMURIYYAH; by Sayyid Ṣabāḥu'd-dīn 'Abdu'r Raḥmān; *Silsilah Daru'l-Muṣannifin*, A'zam-garh; 1367/1948; pp. 10 + 464; Rs. 7.

IT is well that we should turn now and then to what was perhaps one of the most brilliant periods of Indian-- not merely of the Indo-Muslim history, i.e., the so-called Mughal period, for as the old poet has well said,

Gāhē gāhē bāz khwān īn qissa-ē
pārīnah rā,

Tāzah khwāhī dāsh-tan gar dāghhā-ē
sīnah rā.

Mr. Ṣabāḥu'd-Dīn has written a readable and highly interesting book on the great poets, historians, engineers, litterateurs, artists and others of eminence who thronged the court of the Mughals at Agra and Delhi from the time of Bābar right up to the end of the dynasty with Bahādur Shāh II, who lies buried in a country which has become as remote to us as the composite culture of which he was such a fine exponent. The scene opens with Bābar, a man who was as free with the pen as with the sword, and whose memoirs, originally written in the Turkish language, are full of the most beautiful tracery and of description of the land, its people, birds and beasts, fruits and trees, and everything with which he came in contact. Some of his lines have almost become proverbial, such as,

Naurōz-u naubahār mai-ō dilbar-ē
khush ast ;

Bābar ba 'aish kūsh ke 'ālam
dubārah nīst.

The author says that the thirst of the emperors for knowledge was such that each one of them not only kept a library at his place, (at Agra it was housed in the long room by the side of the Octagonal Pavilion) but most of them actually kept

a small collection even at their camps on the fields of battle.

The main theme of the book is the great impetus given by the emperors to poetry. Although the author is quite explicit that the whole line of emperors patronised Persian and Turkish poetry, and practically every emperor from Bābar onwards extended his patronage not only to Hindi but to Sanskrit as well, it is a pity that he has not given any illustrations of Turkish poetry and very few Hindi compositions. We are told that Shāh Jahān appointed Sundar Dās his poet-laureate, and that 'Ālamgīr could converse in "Hindi, Turkish, Arabic and Persian." It is interesting to note that an eminent poet of his time, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Akbarābadi actually composed poems in Hindi, while another poet Raushan Dāmir, himself hailing from Persia, composed songs in the language of the people although he could not pronounce it with a proper accent. We come across giants of the literary stature of Maulana 'Abdu'l-Jalīl Bilgīrāmī who was equally at home in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit and Bhasha, and we are interested in him the more as he was a favourite at the court of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh I, the great founder of the Hyderabad State. There were a number of Hindu poets, some of whom composed in Persian, while others in Hindi, and the more eminent of them were almost invariably attached to the Court at Delhi.

Not only was poetry patronised but prose also reached a high watermark, the lead being given by Bābar and Jahāngīr themselves, followed up by Prince Dārā Shikoh and Emperor 'Ālamgīr whose simple and effective letters are a milestone in the history of style. Calligraphy reached its height, in the reign of Shāh Jahān, and we are interested to note that the curriculum at some of the schools in the Capital in Akbar's time included, besides the Qur'ān, Hadīth, tafsīr and fiqh, such subjects as Vyākaraṇa and the Vedānta

philosophy. There must have been schools for imparting the knowledge of technical arts as well, for "the wonderful technique of apparel, wood and metalware, the great precision in the execution of public monuments, the abundance not only of commodities but in monetary wealth as well which went to purchase them, the strides taken in the arts both of war and peace" all these must have meant that the right type of vocational education was being given to the people, and it would be a good subject of enquiry to know how much the Mughal Court helped to have that education imparted to the people.¹

The author rightly stresses the work of the historians, Hindu and Muslim, who compiled their works right through the period, and as their names and works are well known they need not detain us here. In this connection it would be interesting to note, as the author has done, that Kalhana's great history of Kashmir, the *Rājataranginī*, was completed during the reign of one of the greatest of Kashmiri Sultāns, Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, (1420-1470) and that it was translated into Persian in Akbar's reign. We are further told that Akbar, who is reputed to be illiterate, was himself a poet of some note and one of his many quatrains quoted in the book is almost a tell-tale ;

Az bār-e gunah khamīdah pushtam,
chi kunam ?

Nai rāh ba masjid na kanishtam,
chi kunam ?

Nai dar saf-i kafir na musalmān
jāyam,

Nai laiq-i dūzakḥ na bihiishtam,
chi kunam ?

It is also interesting to find that Shāh Tāhir, the Shī'ah saint, who made a mark in the history of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty, was originally attached to Bābar's entourage, and it was by a mere accident that he had to leave Agra to make Aḥmadnagar his home.

1. Professor H. K. Sherwani's foreword to S. M. Jaffar's *Education in Muslim India*.

The author gives due prominence to the rare literary merit of some of the Mughal princesses. He makes detailed references to Gulbadan Begam, the author of *Humayun Namah*, Jahanara Begam, litterateur and author of the Šufi book, the *Mūnisi'l-Arwāh* and the planner of the Jami' Masjid of Agra, Nūrahān Begam, Jahāngir's consort and 'creator of fashion,' and Zēbu'n-Nisā, 'Ālamgir's daughter, who was well-versed in the Qur'ānic lore, geometry, astronomy, grammar and rhetoric and who held assemblies where the learned gathered and held discussions on various topics. Many of these and other princesses were versifiers of note, and fine illustrations are given of their compositions. There are a few misstatements, such as that Princess Shamsu'n-Nisā Begam is mentioned as Bidār Bakht's "maḥbūbah," although she was his wedded wife, or where the Khairu'l-Manāzil mosque is said to have been of good proportions, though, as a matter of fact, the mosque still exists.

These *faux pas* and others of the same genre may well be passed on. It is a pity, however, that the book is full of numerous printing mistakes, forcing the author to append a list of errata. One feels that so long as Urdu is wedded to the out-of-date litho printing, exactitude will not be attained in our books, and further that perhaps the only way in which our language might attain majority and hold its head erect among world languages, is the adoption of a revised form of the Roman script, as has been done recently in Indonesia and Turkey.

The book is commended to all those who wish to have a correct estimate of the learned atmosphere of the Mughal Court at Agra and Delhi.

H. K. S.

DAS PROOMIUM DES MATNAWI-I-MAULA'I; Von Helmut Ritter; (F. A. Brockhaus Leipzig, 1939).

THIS is a reprint of a scholarly article which Dr. Helmut Ritter once contributed to the German

Journal of Oriental Studies (*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* Bd. 93, Heft 2/3). The writer makes the famous introductory lines of the *Mathnawi* of Rūmi the subject of searching inquiry. In these striking lines of great beauty Rūmi has ascribed to the flute (سُف) the symbolic character of the highest significance. "It is the symbol of the gnostic who isolated from his original home is entangled in matter. He, however, with the reawakening of the consciousness of his celestial origins again yearns for his real home and aims at it." Rūmi has thus made the flute the representative of the whole gnostic brotherhood. This mystical longing is clothed in erotic imagery. What then is this kind of Symbolism? Formally speaking Rūmi makes inanimate things speak like living entities. This kind of symbolic use is not unknown in Persian poetry. 'Attār's *Manṭiq al-Tair* is unique in its achievement. Dr. Ritter further asserts that 'Attār has also used the symbolism of the flute expressly in his '*Gauhar-adh-dhat*' which belongs to the second period in the development of the poet's art and style. What wonder then, asks Dr. Ritter, if the great Rūmi has been inspired by 'Attār in the conception of his prologue.

Ritter traces further back the origin of this symbolism in the story of Midas with his ears of the ass and is astonished at the fertility of the mystic's imagination which can exploit the most heterogeneous things for its own ends. It is no doubt a brilliant study and deserves careful study.

S. V.

NASIR E HOSRAV; par Yahaya El-Khachab; Le Caire, Imprimerie Paul Barbey; MCMXL.

NASIR KHUSRAW who flourished in the eleventh century of the Christian era was a genius of extraordinary versatility. He combined in himself the fanatic zeal of a religious propagandist with the inexhaustible

curiosity and daring of an adventurer and traveller. He was a fanatic, an adventurer, poet, philosopher and what not? A halo of mystery has always surrounded the elusive figure of Nāṣir and it is only now that he had been made the subject of a searching inquiry by Dr. Yahya El-Khachab of the King Fouad University of Cairo. Dr. Yahya seems to have availed himself of all the sources of his biography in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The historical background of the life of Nāṣir Khusraw is adequately dealt with. The racial rivalry of the Persians and the Arabs which brought about the downfall of the Omeyyads and the growth of the Fatimides with a distinct religious ideology of their own, has been given due prominence. Only when one has understood the character of the religious and political forces then at work can one appreciate the life and activity of Nāṣir. We can feel only pity for the man who sacrificed his brilliant intellect for religious ideas of doubtful value. Now it is not so much for his ideas but for his life that he will continue to have a lasting significance for us.

The way Nāṣir turned from a life of pleasure and ease to a life of all-devouring religious passion makes an instructive chapter on the psychology of religious experience and especially of religious conversion. No wonder that the life of pleasure had alienated him from faith

and had driven him to scepticism and nihilism. Rebuked in a dream, he resolved to set out on a voyage to discover truth for himself. Thus Nāṣir moves on in quest of truth and the account that he has given of his travels in his *Safer-namah* is, by the vivacity and precision of its impressions, one of the best of its kind.

Dr. Yahya has given a lucid survey of Nāṣir's religious ideas and interpretations. But unfortunately they are so strongly embedded in the doctrine of Ismā'ilism that they can hardly evoke universal response and appreciation. Dr. Yahya has also given a succinct résumé of Nāṣir's philosophic ideas. Nāṣir's philosophy does not reveal any originality. It is only an undisguised attempt to create a rational foundation for Ismā'ili doctrine. The doctrine of the infallibility of the Imām haunts every step of his thought. It is not then as a poet or a thinker that Nāṣir has an abiding significance for us. It is his life and personality, the passion with which he has pursued truth and the firmness with which he has held his convictions that will make his name revered and loved by posterity. It is all to the credit of Dr. Yahya that he has revived by his scholarly study our interest in a great and fascinating figure of the past.

S. V.

NOTE

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Ed., I. C.

